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SPIRITUAL VALUES IN ADULT EDUCATION

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Humphrey Milford Publisher to the University

SPIRITUAL VALUES IN ADULT EDUCATION

A Study of a Neglected Aspect

BY
BASIL A. YEAXLEE
B.A., PH.D.

VOLUME ONE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD
1925

PRESBYTERIAN THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY LIBRARY.

Thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY ROBERT MACLEHOSE AND CO. LTD.
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PREFACE

A SMALL girl whom I once knew had a passion which I fear was never gratified. She wanted a baby elephant as a pet. It is amusing to reflect upon what might have happened if some good fairy had granted her request. For she lived in a small house with a negligible garden. Evidently she did not foresee " whereto this thing might grow." I was in like case when, five years ago, I began the enquiry which has ended in the writing of this book.

My baby elephant grew tail first. In the course of some twelve years devoted to the service of adult education one has been privileged to make contact with most of the varied types of work now in progress in England. Several surveys of the Movement have been made during that period. But it is noticeable that none of them deals fully, if at all, with the activities of the Churches and kindred organisations. I began to get together such material as I could for a study of that aspect of the question. But no section of adult education can profitably be treated by itself. The relation of this work to the rest, the history of the Movement as a whole, and the philosophy of adult as distinguished from other stages of education all challenged thought. Thus the first four parts of the book came about. The fifth is really the original attempt to put together information which apparently no one else had thought it worth while to assemble, because in detail it was often so unimpressive. But I am advised to print it as fully as space will allow because it does endeavour to describe things as they are, and

this cannot be done without setting down much that in itself may seem trivial. Moreover, without that evidence some generalisations in the earlier parts of the book might appear unwarranted. Actually the fifth part has had to be compressed in order to bring it into some reasonable proportion to the other four.

I have quoted unblushingly. But the choice lay between profuse quotation and sheer plagiarism. For the first part of Volume I. it was essential to draw upon fields of study which I have had no opportunity of exploring widely. At the risk of overloading my own pages I have incorporated specially relevant passages from contemporary writers, in text or footnotes, as this appeared likely to prove more convenient for my readers than the citation of sections from books at the end of my chapters would have been. Of the historical sources for the second part of this volume many are now out of print, and mere reference would have been pointless. And in the first parts of both this and the second volume it seemed desirable, in the interests of scrupulous fairness towards diverse points of view, frequently to give people's own account of themselves.

The present volume deals with general principles and with the development of adult education during the nineteenth century. The second volume takes up the story of adult education in our own times, attempts some constructive suggestions, and contains also a survey of the adult educational activities of the Churches and kindred bodies.

Prefaces are often a last despairing attempt of the writers to state their theses in a form approximately satisfactory. I resist the temptation with the greater cheerfulness because I have the best of reasons for knowing that such a statement demands far abler pens than mine, animated by a scholarship, a sense of historical perspective, and a power of synthesis to which I can lay no claim. But if these pages bring the need to the attention of those who can satisfy it,

the purpose of publishing the book will in large part be fulfilled. The chief result for which one ventures to hope, however, is a little added stimulus to men and women to search out together the whole truth.

It would take five years more to write any one of the dozen books which the many aspects of the subject suggest. Perhaps with each year one's fear of giving publicity to an immature piece of work would increase. But, though still woefully inadequate and incomplete, the present book is at least not hasty. Already it has been delayed for nearly two years by illness, by the claims of that practical daily work which is more important than are the books written about work, and by other circumstances. But I have tried to bring the facts up to date wherever the lapse of time has made any appreciable difference to the situation.

To all those workers in this field who have so generously answered one's questions and illumined one's mind I desire to express sincere gratitude. My indebtedness will be evident on every page. Membership of various Committees has given me a share in valuable information, of which I have endeavoured to acknowledge the sources in detail. Not least am I in the debt of Miss E. Dunkerley and Miss E. M. Brewer, without whose aid the manuscript could never have been reduced to printable order.

"Spiritual things are spiritually discerned." Therein lies the ultimate truth about education, as I have learned above all from those to whom from first to last this book owes most—my Father and Mother and my Wife.

BASIL A. YEAXLEE.

LONDON, *December*, 1924.

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PART I

SOME GENERAL PRINCIPLES

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I

THE SPIRIT OF A MAN THAT IS IN HIM

It has taken us five years to realise the cost of a world war. Even yet we are not at the end of the tale. The victorious nations took into account at Versailles the loss of buildings and ships, the laying waste of farms and fields, the destruction of machinery and mines. To-day in England we are facing the failure of markets, the lack of work not only for able-bodied men but also for thousands of boys and girls as they leave school, and the deficiency of houses. Behind all this is the decimation of the nation's manhood by death or disablement. Nor have those nations which suffered defeat paid only the price of blood for their part. No nation, whether of the one group or of the other, has discharged as yet more than a fraction of its war debt, and those who have the heaviest bill to meet because they were worsted have plunged steadily deeper into poverty, disease, and disorganisation.

Far worse than these external results, whether of the conflict itself or of the more embittered struggle that has followed it, is that moral and spiritual heritage of the war and the peace upon which we now know ourselves to have entered. We cannot cut off the entail. The temper of mistrust, and the tendency to call force to our aid in protecting or demanding what we conceive to be our rights, have survived in our international relationships. In our civil and industrial life it has been intensified. Whether consciously or not, we have domesticated the devil which we set out to exorcise from our neighbour's house. A characteristic effect of armed strife is now revealed in a general lowering of moral standards. The reaction from what we

saw and experienced between 1914 and 1918 has produced not so much a carelessness or a cynicism with regard to spiritual values in human life as a state of questioning and bewilderment about them. Men are asking what the basis of the good life, personal and social, actually is. Must we seek it in the soul, or may we secure it through material conditions ? If we know what it is, how are we to make it permanently our own ?

Among the picturesque figures of our own time is a man who, as it happened, was as nearly remote from the war as any European well could be. At the same time he was passionately alive to its implications, for he is a native of Alsace. A born musician of high technical attainments, a scholar and theologian whose daring and sincerity left an abiding mark on Universities and Churches throughout Christendom, Dr. Albert Schweitzer was drawn by the need of a child-people in equatorial Africa to qualify as a physician and go out as an independent medical missionary on the Ogowe River.[1] From that unique standpoint he has observed the doings of the civilised world. In those unacademic and stark surroundings he has matured a philosophy born of long thought. His conclusion is a little staggering to the average man : " The real fact is that all human progress depends on progress in its theory of the universe, whilst, conversely, decadence is conditioned by a similar decadence in this theory. Our loss of real civilisation is due to our lack of a theory of the universe." But he proceeds to tell us what he means by such a theory : " It is the content of the thoughts of society and the individuals that compose it about the nature and object of the world in which they live, and the position and destiny of mankind and of individual men within it." [2]

[1] Cf. Albert Schweitzer : *On the Edge of the Primeval Forest* (1922).

[2] Albert Schweitzer, *The Decay and the Restoration of Civilisation* (1923), pp. ix. 80. These are the Dale Memorial Lectures for 1922, delivered at Mansfield College, Oxford, and were followed, as Part II., by the volume entitled *Civilisation and Ethics* (1923), by the same author. His point is put thus in another passage : " The only

We may at first be tempted to dismiss the idea as having no practical bearing upon our situation, however illuminating it may be to the student. But a little reflection will remind us that in various forms it was emerging in all our minds not long ago. One of the remarkable features of our national life during the latter part of the war was the way in which we in part reversed and in part modified the hoary maxim, *Si vis pacem para bellum*. We began to hear a new saying: "In time of war, prepare for peace." Reconstruction was the general watchword. It had become clear that if we would refashion the social order we must enrich and re-invigorate our powers of thought. Thus it came about that one of the most permanently valuable enquiries carried out under the Ministry of Reconstruction dealt with Adult Education.[1] The late Master of Balliol and his Committee drew attention to the widespread desire of men and women for the kind of education that would enable them to understand and thus to remodel their world. They showed how so potent a stirring of the mind might be fostered. As we shall see, a similar impulse had been manifest in comparable circumstances at previous periods of our own history. The greater strength of our contemporary faith in the restorative and quickening power of education after our more recent experience of devastating war was reinforced when we found that other nations in Europe were developing and expressing the same conviction as hostilities drew to a close. Moreover, in each country new popular movements sprang up, or old ones were re-animated, which helped to prepare the way for the schemes announced by official organisations and Government departments. The nobler elements that went

conceivable way of bringing about a reconstruction of our world on new lines is first of all to become new men ourselves under the old circumstances, and then as a society in a new frame of mind so to smooth out the opposition between nations that a condition of true civilisation may again become possible. Everything else is more or less wasted labour, because we are thereby building not on the spirit, but on what is merely external." *Op. cit.* p. 60.

[1] Ministry of Reconstruction Committee on Adult Education, *Final Report*, 1919. (Cmd. 321.)

to the making of war were those for which war was at best a hateful, but necessary, preliminary to this great task of setting human relationships throughout the world upon a higher level of sympathy and co-operation. Over against the wounds that our own nation and every other nation have suffered in body and in soul during the last decade must be set this stimulation of the spirit. Even such a war was not all loss. Even Versailles could not completely crush chivalry by cynicism.

Why then do we now feel less certain of ultimate gain than we did five years ago ? There was surely far more than sentiment in the idealism so widespread then. If that renaissance of hope and purpose was not fleeting and is not dead, what is needed now to bring it to fulness of strength, and to make it creative in our common life as well as in our cherished dreams ?

For one thing we could not measure, even if we could guess, the inevitable economic, political, and social outcome of such an unprecedented upheaval as those four years witnessed. Neither could we foresee its demoralising effects upon men's minds—whether the war brought them wealth that they would never otherwise have accumulated, or whether it flung them into years of unemployment and insecurity such as no previous experience could have led them to anticipate. We did not understand what international relationships mean in a modern world, how inseparably all the nations are bound together now for better or for worse, so that if one suffers all the others suffer with her. We had not gone to the depths of our valley of shadows.

Another reason, and from the constructive point of view a more positive one, lies in our natural slowness to perceive that a challenge like Dr. Schweitzer's is as remarkable for its realism as for its idealism. Nothing short of a sound theory of the universe will enable us to deal satisfactorily with our diverse practical problems. Only on the basis of an adequate philosophy can we hope to develop the better way of life that we seek. No remedy for the disease that

still afflicts us will prove lasting unless it penetrates to the root of the trouble. A glimpse of this truth came to us as a people when in 1918 we admitted the claim of education to a foremost place in our programme of reconstruction, and put Mr. Fisher's Act on the Statute Book. For the first time in the story of England a liberal education was officially recognised as the need and the right, not only of the child and the adolescent, but also of the man and the woman at every stage of life. We are beginning to think of education not merely as part of the necessary furniture of life, but as the life process itself.[1] But we have not yet related our system of education (including within the term " system " informal and voluntary activities, as well as the official provision of formal teaching) to the other aspects of our national development. In fact, we have not found, or even set ourselves to find, that philosophy which sees everything as part of one harmonious whole. To speak of education as " a spiritual activity " has become conventional. Yet few among us have any clear conception of what the phrase may mean. In short, we have paid too little attention to that philosophy of education itself which should make clear to us the function of education in the development of personalities rightly and consciously related to society and to the universe.[2] Experiments in education abound as perhaps never before ; they are as numerous in university and adult education as in nursery, primary, and secondary schools, or in the application of education to the purposes of industry and commerce. Problems of organisation, of method, of co-ordination, throng upon us. Yet no experiment can be properly evaluated, no problem can be satisfactorily solved,

[1] Cf. " For the achievements of education are to be measured primarily by its success in assisting growth, not in imposing discipline or imparting information." R. H. Tawney, *Education ; The Socialist Policy* (1924), p. 5.

[2] " Ultimately," says Kenneth Richmond, " nothing can be taught so that it will stick in the mind, still less so that it will blossom and fructify, unless it is taught, consciously or unconsciously, as part of a philosophy." *Education for Liberty* (1918), p. 123.

until we have a firmer grasp of the meaning and purpose of education in all its parts and phases.

It may be that after all the present time is really more fraught with hope than those memorable months immediately following the armistice of 1918. Disillusionment has proved bitter, but it is salutary. Now, also, as at the time when "reconstruction" was so much discussed, the subject of education is the most natural and fruitful way of approach to that rebuilding of our world in idea and purpose which must precede effective action in practical detail.

> Imagine the whole, then execute the parts—
> Fancy the fabric
> Quite, ere you build.

Many will agree that what is wrong with our world is that it has lost sight of spiritual values. Everyone with insight into the nature and history of education believes that its business is with just such values. Some will say at once that if this is our quest we ought straightway to go to religion, the treasure-house of spiritual experience, personal and social. It may suffice at this point to say that without prejudice to the claims of religion, which of necessity we shall consider in due course, education is almost unquestionably the more obvious starting point, if for no other reason than that the war dealt a blow at theologies and churches (which for most people, unhappily, are all that religion means) from which it will take them a long time to recover, whereas to education, *as a spiritual activity*, it gave a remarkable stimulus. Possibly it would be more accurate to say that teachers were more alert to their opportunities than preachers. However that may be, the fact remains that education at the present time is less under general suspicion of begging the question than is religion. In any event our concern here is with the philosophy as much as with the practice of education itself, and with the theory of the universe as much as with the way of life to which an enlightened practice of education leads. If it be said that to deal in philosophy is to carry the whole affair away from shop and market-place, to remove it beyond the ken of the

common people, and thus to shirk the practical issues that are of greatest moment to us all, it may be well to recall some words which Professor Giovanni Gentile has written in a very stimulating book about education: "In the depths of every mind there is a philosophy." [1] The aim of education is to emancipate what lies deepest in men, to enable them to elucidate and to express all that is essential to their truest life. And indeed, as Professor Nunn has remarked, "Every scheme of education being, at bottom, a practical philosophy, necessarily touches life at all points." [2]

While in these pages it is proposed to deal with *adult* education, as a part of the educational field more recently opened up and less fully explored than any other, there can be no question of separating adult from other stages of education. That there are great differences between it and the school or university type will be obvious. In very many respects it is unsafe, even where it is not impossible, to argue from the one to the other. Each will be found to present characteristics of its own with respect to the prevailing interests of the student, the qualifications and methods of the teacher, or the form of organisation and government required. Any approach to such matters as the place of religion and politics in adult education clearly must be from a standpoint inappropriate to the case of the child or the adolescent. But, as we are learning in both theory and practice, all stages of education are interdependent, and through all there run certain essential principles. It is therefore at once convenient and necessary that at the outset some of these principles should be examined in their broadest application, even though we have adult education specifically in mind throughout.

Soul and spirit are elusive terms. The remarkable fact about them is that they persistently reappear at each great creative epoch of the world's life. They are then used with a frequency which shows how men and women regard whatever these words stand for to them as an ultimate reality in

[1] *The Reform of Education* (1923), Eng. trans. p. 239.

[2] *Education, its Data and First Principles* (1920), p. 2.

each human being. In the ancient world of Hebrew, Greek and Roman, soul and spirit were distinguished, the one being a quasi-physical principle of life animating the body, and the other the incorporeal element of the self which yet again, in the Greek conception, was other than the mind. The mediaeval scholar, under ecclesiastical influence, thought of the soul as everything in the man which was not physical and bodily, and primarily as that in him which was capable of immortality. The definitely religious use of the words in our own day is familiar.[1] But in contrast with this may be set the use, more particularly of the adjective "spiritual," which indicates a rarefied intellectual life, much as the Germans use their word *geistlich*. For the purpose of his idealistic philosophy Dr. F. H. Bradley defines the soul as "a finite centre of immediate experience, possessed of a certain temporal continuity of existence, and again of a certain identity in character," while he says that in a complete philosophy "pure Spirit would mark the extreme most removed from lifeless Nature. And, at each rising of this scale (of progress), we should find more of the first character with less of the second. The ideal of spirit, we may say, is directly opposed to mechanism. . . . The universal here is immanent in the parts."[2] We cannot assume, therefore, when nowadays we find many different groups of people speaking of "spiritual values," whether in education or with any other reference, that here at least they are in agree-

[1] Dom Cuthbert Butler, whose great book on *Western Mysticism* is the fruit of twenty years' study, and who is concerned to show that "real religious mysticism is not a philosophy; it is an experience" open to all normal men and women, takes what might perhaps be called the most radical view from the standpoint of experimental religion when he says: "Behind the faculties of the soul, behind intellection and understanding and reason and will and emotion and imagination, is the soul itself, the spiritual principle that is the root of all the faculties. . . . This at least will be held by all who regard the mind as something more than a bundle of sensations, phantasmata, emotions, cognitions, volitions. . . . It has been called also in modern terminology the core of personality and the transcendental self." *Op. cit.* (1922), pp. 188, 304.

[2] *Appearance and Reality* (Seventh Impression, 1920), pp. 298, 498.

ment. They may be or they may not. Probably some have never stopped to analyse their thought on the matter, or tried to define their terms. It is because there is so great a possibility of finding here some common ground that it is worth while to consider carefully what may reasonably be regarded as a fair interpretation of the phrase. There is little likelihood that, after such reflection, the varied groups of which we have spoken will discover that they all attach an identical meaning to the expression which they all so readily employ. But their divergencies may turn out to be but the play of lights and shadows upon one living stream; or, if we may adopt Shelley's metaphor, to reveal the fact that

> Life, like a dome of many coloured glass,
> Stains the white radiance of eternity.

To-day philosophy is less popular than the physical, anthropological and social sciences. Men dwell upon forces rather than upon values. Without attaching exclusive importance to the material they are shy of allusion to the spiritual. But biology, for example, does not reduce man to nothing more than the most fully evolved animal. He is distinguished by the fact that he is a person, with powers of thought, feeling, and action that enable him to master his instincts and to shape his environment, to go with the crowd or to exercise leadership of it, in the service of ideals and purposes such as no living thing but a human being has ever evinced.[1] Economics, again, may be an abstract study, but in the end it is an effort to justify the ways of man to man. Even those who begin by accepting the "Materialist Conception of History" are occupied all the time in the endeavour to trace the effect (as they consider it, inexorable and determinative) of circumstances upon persons; they

[1] Cf. R. H. Thouless, *An Introduction to the Psychology of Religion* (1923): "The truth seems to be that the history of the mental development of a human being is the history of the replacement of purely instinctive behaviour by behaviour of the same kind determined by habit, and modified by mental processes of the complex kind which we may describe as intelligent thinking." p. 123. Cf. also pp. 25-29 *infra*, and footnotes.

wish to find out how that law of circumstances works, in order that they may discover how its victims may use it for the attainment of their own freedom. In the realm of psychology some authorities may tell us that the supreme forces in our individual lives are those that work in the darkness to which repression has driven them, and will have their unsuspected way with us until we have been analysed and the occasion of our abnormalities revealed.[1] Others may assert that in the long run the man is dominated by the herd or herds of which he is, consciously or otherwise, a part. But no psychologist would ever suggest that he has to do with anything but a collection of persons. So, too, if we consider " Capital " and " Labour," massed as they now are for collective bargaining or for conflict, we speedily realise that they are never, when it comes to practical contact, more or less than this company of *men* meeting that. The same is true of communities and nations, loyal to each other within a commonwealth, or indulging their mutual misunderstandings and antipathies by means of economic, diplomatic, or military warfare. Tennyson's *Northern Farmer* may say that " the poor in a loomp is bad " ; but the argument of men and women called upon, like the Poplar Board of Guardians, to consider day after day the necessities of a crowd of poverty-stricken people, is that you cannot deal with them " in a loomp." Social solidarity, in one form or another, has become not only a more commonly recognised fact, but a more constantly reiterated article of faith, for most people than perhaps has ever been the case before. Nevertheless, " the idea that social bonds are imposed upon the individual from without and accepted under the terms of a ' social contract ' has in fact long been exploded. It is now recognised universally that they originate within man's nature and are woven inextricably

[1] Cf., as contrasted with Jung in *Psychology of the Unconscious* (Eng. trans. 1922), or Freud, *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis* (Eng. trans. 1922), O. Pfister, *Psycho-Analysis in the Service of Education* (Eng. trans. 1922), p. 5, etc., and J. A. Hadfield, *Psychology and Morals* (1923), *passim.*

into the texture of his being." When Dr. Nunn follows this affirmation by stating, as the doctrine which he wishes to make the basis of a stable educational policy, that "it re-affirms the infinite value of the individual person," he is putting into words an idea that dominates the greater part of current thought and action, though there might be a minority of people who would not go on to say with him that "it re-asserts his ultimate responsibility for his own destiny; and it accepts all the practical corollaries that assertion implies." [1]

We are safe in supposing, therefore, that few will question, or fail to understand, the statement that our ordinary world is first and foremost a world of persons, and that the scale of values to be applied to all that it contains must be one of values for persons. It is hardly necessary to add that no individual can be divorced from society. Social life and social values may be distinguishable from those of persons, but they are not separable. No human being is without human relationships. He cannot think or act in any way as an isolated unit. Even though he may assume a selfish or anti-social attitude, he therein conceives others as his rivals or enemies, and determines his conduct with the intention of shutting them out or injuring them. Biology and psychology, politics and economics, all reinforce the argument of ethics, philosophy, and religion that we are members one of another, however inviolable the individuality of each.[2] But this only creates a higher standard of worth and obligation for the individual person.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 4.

[2] Taking, for example, the fields of economics and industry, we may consider as representative Prof. Henry Clay's point of view in his discussion of Wealth as Welfare, *Economics for the General Reader* (1916), pp. 415-476. Cf. "Work, then, if it is to contribute to welfare directly, should be such as to develop the worker's personality" (*ibid.* p. 442); or again, "While we can separate the economic and the ethical aspects of a problem for the purpose of study, in the problem itself they are combined—we cannot separate them for action" (*ibid.* p. 476). Cf. B. Seebohm Rowntree, *The Human Factor in Business* (1921), pp. 82, 148-156. Cf. also J. A. Hobson,

When Descartes, with his *Cogito, ergo sum*, maintained that the real existence of a human person was proved by his possession of the power to think, and so to relate the whole world of persons and things to himself, he revolutionised the philosophy of that period. At the same time he inevitably provoked the question whether between a man's mind and his body there is a gulf fixed, and, if so, how that gulf may be bridged. The common assent to the existence of persons as finite centres of both physical and psychical experience, which we have taken as a starting point for our present discussion of spiritual values, has to some extent rectified this. But perhaps so long as we talk of persons there remains something of a tendency opposite to that which characterised Descartes. There is a suggestion of externality by which we may unwittingly be betrayed. Happily the general trend of thought has moved away from this. A word more often upon our lips than " persons " is " personality." Modern writers, despairing of the resources to be found in words, have fallen back upon the invaluable hyphen, and refer accordingly to " body-mind "—or " mind-body "—in order to make it clear that, while they cannot explain the nature of the connection between the two, they regard this as a fact that must perpetually be taken into account.[1] Probably the popular conception of personality, though less meticulously expressed, is orthodox in this respect. But the extent to which the importance of personality is emphasised in all kinds of connections is evidence that popular thought has deepened. Whenever the word is uttered we begin to feel that we are not far from that Kingdom which we can only call spiritual. Persons, to us, are men and women in their concrete reality. Personality, on the other hand, suggests the essential man or woman,

Incentives in the New Industrial Order (1922), pp. 32, 121, 122. D. H. Macgregor remarks of the first decade of the present century, " The first of the principles which may be said to underlie the legislation of this period is that of personal right and personal value in industry." *The Evolution of Industry* (n.d.), p. 109.

[1] Cf. Nunn, *op. cit.* pp. 18-19. J. Arthur Thomson, *What is Man?* (1923), p. 79.

together with everything by which that creative unity is revealed and expressed. A person finds himself forever jostling other persons, in the human throng that spreads to every corner of his world. But the correlative of personality is society, which has an ordered unity and an inward life of its own. So much is society a higher form of human organisation, indeed, that one philosopher will say with Plato that from the study of society the clearest light is shed on the nature of personality, while another (perhaps a little extravagantly) will speak of society in the form of a nation or of all humankind as the only true personality.[1]

How far-reaching has been the effect upon human affairs of a growth of reverence for personality historians have made abundantly plain to us. We have the story of humanitarian achievements, such as Wilberforce's campaign for the emancipation of slaves, or that defence of values for personality combined with refusal to surrender social values which led Lincoln to fight for the maintenance of the Union.

[1] Cf. C. C. J. Webb: *Divine Personality and Human Life* (1920), p. 155. But Professor Webb says also: "No more than the universal is to be treated as another particular beside the particulars which are its instances, is the Corporation (or the crowd) to be treated as another person beside the persons who are its members," *op. cit.* p. 154. Cf. G. Gentile, *op. cit.* pp. 32, 247, etc. Cf., of course, W. McDougall, *Social Psychology*; Graham Wallas, *Human Nature in Politics* (1908), and *The Great Society* (1914), and W. H. R. Rivers, *Psychology and Politics* (1923), especially p. 16, and M. Ginsburg, *The Psychology of Society* (1924). But cf. W. H. R. Rivers, *Instinct and the Unconscious* (1922): "The science which deals with the mind in its individual aspect, and still more that which attempts to deal with the collective aspect, is so much less advanced (*sc.* than "the sciences which deal with matter") that it can hardly yet claim to provide an answer to any of the more concrete questions which the sociologist or the statesman may wish to put to it. We cannot claim more than that psychology has revealed certain general principles which will help the politician, the social reformer, or the teacher.... A society is a collection of individuals" (p. 254). Dr. Rivers holds that the general principles observable in the case of individual life will apply to social. A valuable discussion of the history of the term "person" is Prof. C. C. J. Webb's Lecture II. in *God and Personality* (1919), pp. 35-60.

Politically there is the adventure of the Pilgrim Fathers, and that world-shaking French Revolution which confirmed the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers in their enthusiasm for republican principles. The Industrial Revolution in our own country was followed by the revolt of the workpeople against exploitation ; this, again, issued in the Co-operative and Trade Union movements which exert such power in our contemporary English life. In the development of religion the same force was at work in the Reformation—to go no further back—and in the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century in this country. It may be less easy to point to an outstanding historical event in the realm of purely social relationships, but one illustration of a long process may be found in the stress laid upon status, as compared with the importance attached to wages, hours, or other conditions of work, in the claims for social betterment advanced by many wage-earners at the present time.[1]

Personality is so complex that a compact and brief definition of it is almost impossible. When in ordinary life we think or speak of it, attaching to it so high a degree of

[1] On the last two points cf. Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *The Decay of Capitalist Civilisation* (1923), pp. 90, 125, and, for the way in which any insistence on industrial struggle as *merely* a matter of wages and profits leads to class war, p. 162. Cf. Mr. Frank Hodges' speech in the House of Commons on the Minimum Wage : "Its object in relation to any particular industry was always to improve the quality of the lives of men and women engaged in that industry." *The Times*, March 5, 1924. Cf. also Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, "The first great problem to be faced by us as Christians is the simple but very intricate problem of poverty. This is not a problem of inequality. It is a problem of degradation of men and women ; the problem of the sacrifices that good men and women have to undergo, sacrifices not of material things, sacrifices not of ideals or of wishes, but sacrifices that entail the crucifixion of qualities which they have by virtue of the fact that they have souls. . . . Another great problem which the Christian cannot be comfortable about till it is solved is that of human values. . . . This is an age where material possession is in power, where mere knowledge dominates. While that is true, this is also an age when the still small voice of spirituality is challenging it all. . . . As Christians we have a unity in community. We are members one of each other. The bond

importance as we have come to do, we invariably find upon reflection that one particular aspect of it takes precedence over others in our minds. We tend to estimate values in our universe largely in relation to one or other aspect of personality to which they make special appeal. Our upbringing, our peculiar interests and occupations, our general experience of life, or other influences may have brought this aspect rather than others into prominence for us. But we must not exclude other aspects, equally important for other people, from our definition. Indeed, if we examine the aspect that is clearest to us with sufficient thoroughness we shall discover that it implies the others. We therefore need not be dismayed when we find that authorities differ in their definitions. Neither is it to be thought unsatisfactory or unscientific if we are driven to indicate or describe, rather than to define, what we mean by personality. Such a necessity points, not to the possibility that there is after all nothing actual and ultimate behind these various conceptions, but to the certainty that there is something so fully alive and so immeasurably rich that it cannot be compassed by a formula, or labelled like an exhibit in the Natural History Museum.

between us is not economic. It is a spiritual bond which exists because we are possessors of a common soul and inheritors of a common destiny. . . . Socialism is a thing which has two values, one as an electioneering cry, and the other as a philosophy and a system of life. As a philosophy, as a material embodiment of the spiritual conception of unity in community, it is a system, a comprehensive code, and it is based upon the Gospels. I mention this because I am going to appeal to you to systematise your ideas. Life depends upon ideas." Address to the National Free Church Council, *The Times*, March 7, 1924. The purpose of this long quotation is to show the attitude of influential and representative politicians and social reformers. Of course, similar quotations could be adduced from members of other schools of political and social thought. Thus the Hon. E. L. Wood, writing in *The Times* of March 14, 1924, on "Conservative Beliefs," says towards the end of his essay: "Each and all of these things evidently depend upon some instinctive acceptance of a scale of spiritual values, distinct from, and often in sharp conflict with, the ordinary values of expediency and convenience."

The enquiry into the nature of personality has been pursued by the scientist, and particularly by the biologist, because personality is the differentia of the highest type of life within his chosen field. The psychologist must needs follow it, for though his is a descriptive science, dealing with the way in which the mind works, rather than a metaphysic, seeking to discover its source and its place in the scheme of things, he is compelled to ask where the mind has its centre of activity. It has engaged the philosopher, since for everything in the universe that can be known there must be a knower; the infinite universe of thought must be present to the mind of some thinker; the pathway to reality lies through human experience. For the theologian this same quest is inevitable as he endeavours to understand the being and ways of God, for to men God is best known as He has revealed Himself to and through individual men and women. The educationist is involved in this study, inasmuch as he can do nothing at his task of teaching till he has some clear idea of who or what it is that he is setting out to educate. Nor can the historian or the artist, the politician or the economist accomplish anything without at least taking this factor into account, whether he has made any attempt to understand it or not.[1]

[1] A recent and striking interpretation of economic principles from this point of view will be found in Gerard Collier's posthumous book, *Economic Justice* (1924). Mr. Collier says, pp. 30-31: "The economic process consists in mind transforming material by means of power. . . . No new values can be created without mind (unless accidentally), but the will is the operative part of the mind, therefore no new values can be created without will. . . . This brings us to the question of the soul, for it is clear that values are increased, not simply with reference to the development of will, but of the single-minded will. The soul is that part of the mind which has the power of seeing the end or object to which we ought to strive and can strive. Call that end or object the Ideal Good, or Perfection, or the Kingdom of God, or what you will, but perhaps it is best for our present purpose to call it the common or general good, because to the extent that we approach it everyone is benefited, for that which is to the real eternal good of one must also, in its degree, be for the real eternal good of every other and for all; if two wills or innumer-

Naturally it is to the philosophers, and to those who have made a philosophical approach to science, theology, psychology, and education, that we turn for enlightenment. Many of them, from the greatest of the Greeks downwards, take the soul, the ego, the spiritual self, as a datum, a fact requiring no demonstration. It is, in their view, at the very least a necessary hypothesis that is proved by experience, and no argument will carry us any further. They tell us much about the attributes of personality, the way in which it responds to other personalities and to the universe, but this is the only discussion of it that they find fruitful. Professor John Adams inclines, as an educationist, to this view, remarking that "for English usage there is a certain interchangeability among the three terms, individuality, personality, and character." [1] This gives him his practical starting point. "If the first distinction be accepted, individuality is a datum in education, personality almost wholly a datum, but still leaving a certain scope for the educator, while character is clearly the field of the educator." [2] Herbart, as Dr. Adams reminds us, "claims to be a spiritualist, and bluntly says that materialism is an absurdity," but, nevertheless, the soul that Herbart made the starting point of his scheme was "purely negative . . . merely the meeting-place of certain forces called by Herbart *Vorstellungen*, or presentations, a term that may perhaps on the whole be best rendered by the word *ideas*." [3] But even

able wills are set towards this common good they will not and cannot clash, but will be in a state of co-operation; therefore it is only when wills are set towards this object that new values can be created to the greatest extent, and it is a faculty of the soul to see the common good; therefore if we wish to have economic prosperity, we must have wills controlled and directed by the soul."

[1] *Evolution of Educational Theory* (1915), p. 46. He goes on to say: "On the whole, individuality will be found to be used in a more objective sense than personality. The latter term has usually the connotation not only of distinctive characteristics, but of awareness of them; character is clearly marked off from both by the fact that it usually implies not merely the possession of certain qualities, but the evaluation of them."

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Op. cit.* pp. 322-338.

when Beneke developed the conception by postulating as native to the soul certain active powers of response to stimuli, and when knowledge could thus be regarded as the result of interaction between the soul and the forces of the outer world, the general position was advanced but little. It still remained necessary to accept the soul as " something given," an immaterial, active unity, beyond analysis or explanation.

But not all who refuse a materialist theory have recognised even this assumption of personality as " something given," prior to, and the subject of, experience. Thus William James, pre-eminent as a psychologist in his combination of imaginative insight with the cool objectivity of the scientist, tells us that he finds " a stream of consciousness " sufficient as a primary conception, and that even for the explanation of persistent personal identity he sees no reason for asserting the existence of " the soul, ego, or spirit." [1] On the other hand there are many who would describe personality, or the soul, with Dr. Bernard Hart, who was among our English pioneers in the study and explanation of the Unconscious as related to personality, as " the main body of consciousness," or as " all the mental processes—ideas, emotions, memories, desires . . . the whole of the mind." [2] This, however, would seem to be an incomplete summary of what we feel to be elemental in our individual selves. Dr. Hadfield takes a wider view when he distinguishes the " organised self " from " the whole psychological individual." This is the self which reduces to order and controls the otherwise chaotic and subversive elements within the individual. It is the self which is " accepted "

[1] He speaks of the " I " and the " me " as subject and object in our experience, but argues that the " I " which knows all that passes in the stream of consciousness " cannot itself be an aggregate ; neither for psychological purposes need it be an unchanging metaphysical entity like the soul, or a principle like the transcendental ego, viewed as ' out ' of time. . . . It is a *thought*, at each moment different from that of the last moment, but appropriative of the latter, together with all that the latter calls its own." *Psychology* (1904 edn.), pp. 201-202, 215-216.

[2] *The Psychology of Insanity* (1916), pp. 56, 78.

by that individual as his real or true self as contrasted with everything in his inner life, whether it finds outward expression or not, that he regards as unworthy. "It consists of all those thoughts and feelings, desires and aims, which we accept as ours, and with which we identify ourselves as 'I.'" The unity within this self is a unity of purpose, and therefore "it functions as one." But, even so, this psychological conception is not to be identified, says Dr. Hadfield, with the "profound ego," the principle of unity behind all the psychological processes of the individual, and distinct from that which it implies.[1]

Yet even this does not satisfy us. The problem of knowledge, the problem of thought, the problem of unified moral action, are all problems that spring out of the greater problem of the nature of personality. How do we remain ourselves and yet go out of ourselves? How can we retain our identity and yet enter into innumerable relationships with others? To this Bergson offers an answer: "Obviously there is a vital impulse . . . something which ever seeks to transcend itself, to extract from itself more than there is—in a word, to create. Now a force which draws from itself more than it contains, which gives more than it has, is precisely what is called a spiritual force."[2] The contribution of the philosophy of religion is made, not indeed solely,

[1] *Psychology and Morals* (1923), pp. 66-67, 102-104. With Dr. Hadfield's "profound ego" may perhaps be compared Dom Cuthbert Butler's "spiritual principle" or "core of personality." *Vide* p. 10 *supra* (note).

[2] Art. "Life and Unconsciousness," *Hibbert Journal*, Oct. 1911, p. 40, quoted by Dr. Olive Wheeler, *Bergson and Education* (1922), p. 37. Dr. Wheeler's main deduction, as an educationist, from Bergson's philosophy, is that it "emphasises the need for working out a broader conception of education, in which the acquiring of book-knowledge and the training of the intellect shall be subordinated to training in the art of living. Each individual must be educated to live; not merely to gain a livelihood, but to attain that fulness of life which becomes possible in so far as he succeeds in expanding freely and in entering into right relations with reality itself." *Op. cit.* pp. 67-68. For Bergson "shows that human consciousness is a dynamic flux, ever enriching itself by experience, gathering up the past, and driving towards the future." (*Ibid.* p. 69.)

but essentially, at this point. The soul, in ordinary usage, is that in the man which perceives, thinks, feels, wills. It transmutes into spiritual experience all that comes by way of bodily sensation. But, far more than this, it is that which is capable of life in a society of its equals, life that is more than physical and intellectual activity. Professor C. C. J. Webb goes back to Boethius for a phrase which he uses "less as an adequate definition of Personality than as a provisional attempt to orientate ourselves, so to say, in the study of it: *Persona est naturae rationabilis individua substantia.*" But individuality and rationality he regards as only the beginning of Personality. The full truth of it is in the power to recognise and hold intercourse with other personalities—and an intercourse not limited to the finite. The whole universe, he affirms, has personality behind it. In the ultimate reality of the universe,—as he would say, in God,—personality is an essential quality. It is a life that is not limited by its transcendence—its supreme Selfhood, or by its immanence—its supreme self-communication. "It is in those human activities which are distinctly human, because they are rational and social, that we must study the nature of human Personality. . . . We have to ask whether they will be better or worse understood if we think of the activity of the Supreme Reality, in which 'we live and move and have our being,' as a *personal* activity, that is, as an activity having the form of *personal* intercourse, whereof in Religion we can by virtue of our own personality become participators."[1] It is from a study of human life in its economic, scientific, aesthetic, moral, political and religious aspects that Professor Webb demonstrates the congruity of our daily experience with a belief in Divine Personality. For personality, human and divine, is a power of mutual intercourse, mediate and immediate, by all the channels of feeling, thought, and will, between unified, conscious selves maintaining their identity in a society from which they are inseparable.[2]

[1] *Divine Personality and Human Life*, pp. 23-29.

[2] "Personality," says Dr. Webb, "is always social," but "it might further be suggested that we ought to think of any Personality

It may thus be said, not as a definition of personality, but as indicating sufficiently what any but those who hold a purely materialist or mechanical (or indeed a completely pantheistic or absolute idealist) view of the universe would agree in regarding as its essential significance, that in personality lies the power of the individual at once to stand apart from all other persons and things in the universe and to relate himself to them. He is not an atom in that concourse of which Lucretius spoke, nor an undifferentiated part of the All as the Buddhist philosophy bids him aspire to become. Personality in human beings is not static, but dynamic. In this sense Gentile is right when he speaks of it as "a becoming." [1] It is perpetually receptive and perpetually creative. But both processes are real. There is no need to argue for the reduction of all that is material in the universe to terms of pure thought, or to advocate the contrary theory, surely demonstrated by James Ward [2] to be indefensible, that thought is merely a function of matter. Human personality, it is true, may in its fulness and complete unity be an achievement rather than "something given." But this is because it finds itself in an infinite

which we can ascribe to God rather as a corporate or collective Personality of this sort than as a Personality like that which belongs to each of the individual members of a society; and that we could thus rightly say that God is in this sense *personal*, though not a *person*; unless indeed we were prepared to abandon monotheism and think of God as standing over against other Gods, as one member among many of a divine Society." *Op. cit.* p. 147. Cf. also pp. 157, 163-165. This position is not open to the criticism evoked, *e.g.* by that of William James in his lectures on *A Pluralistic Universe*. The conception has been very fully worked out by S. A. McDowall, in *Evolution, Knowledge and Revelation* (1924), in his chapters on "Knowing and Loving" and "The Known and the Loved," pp. 28-81. *Vide* pp. 48, 60, and again p. 106: "In fact the practical knowing, just as much as the absolute knowing, centres in an experience of an individual concrete personality which knows everything through relationship to itself, though it eventually comes to know absolute Reality as reciprocal relationships of personality. The practical knowing is the functioning of imperfect personality in making itself perfect."

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 236. [2] In his *Naturalism and Agnosticism* (1899).

universe, no part of which is ultimately inaccessible to it, and all of which has meaning and value for it.[1]

When, therefore, we say that personality is spiritual we mean not merely that it is not material, a higher aspect of the physical and nervous organism which we know as the human body (though we do not forget the fact that human personality is incarnate spirit, body-mind); we mean that there is in personality something infinite and universal, realising itself in the concrete human life of the individual, the transcendent becoming immanent, but yet not making of that individual a mere puppet without power of resistance or initiative.[2] To possess personality implies that one has a

[1] Cf. F. H. Bradley, *Appearance and Reality*, pp. 531-533, where it is suggested that "by personality we are to understand the highest form of finite spiritual development," while it is said of the Absolute: "It is better to affirm personality than to call the Absolute impersonal. But neither mistake should be necessary. The Absolute stands above, and not below, its internal distinctions. It does not eject them, but includes them as elements in its fulness.... It is better in this connection to call it super-personal." Cf. also his *Essays on Truth and Reality* (1914), "On God and the Absolute," pp. 428-447; "On the Reality and Personality of God," pp. 448-451.

[2] Cf. A. S. Pringle-Pattison: *The Idea of God in the Light of Recent Philosophy*, 2nd edn. (1920), pp. 291-292. Speaking from the purely philosophical point of view Prof. Pringle-Pattison observes that "The essential feature of the Christian conception of the world, in contrast to the Hellenic, may be said to be that it regards the person and the relations of persons as the essence of reality, whereas Greek thought conceived of personality, however spiritual, as a restrictive characteristic of the finite—a transitory product of a life which as a whole is impersonal," a weakness which, together with excessive intellectualism, he finds in modern Absolutism. With regard to divine personality, Dr. W. Temple speaks of God as "a Being who fulfils that hope of a complete Personality which grows in the mind as it ascends the scale from dead matter to human life." Essay in the volume edited by J. H. Muirhead: *Contemporary British Philosophy* (1924), p. 426. So also S. A. McDowall, *op. cit.* pp. 104, 108, 111: "Finite personality acquires infinity through union with Infinite Personality. It thus becomes the fulfilment of the functioning of the Infinite, yet retains its own identity, not as an other, but as a subject-object which knows itself and others in being known; that is, in the activity of pure experience."

part to play in a drama which is real and eternal, though the stage, so far as we are concerned, is set within time and space. Personal and social values thus include all material values. Reverence for them demands that we should judge the worth of all that is or may be experienced by men and women in the light of its importance relative to this great process of discovering oneself, society and the universe. The development of personality is wrought out by entering into true relationships with a divine-human society, and by achieving thus, not only a knowledge which becomes insight and purpose, but also a power to serve the whole which proves to be perfect freedom.[1]

If we now turn to biology we find that such a view of personality as we have just described is not controverted, but is to a great extent shared, by men whose pre-eminence in that science is unquestioned. Mr. Julian Huxley, for example, says that " biologically, the essence of real personality is first that it is organised, and secondly that on each of its many faces it can, if I may put it metaphorically, enter into action at a single point, but with its whole content of energy available behind the point. . . . Another power of personalities is their power of interpenetration. The purely material cannot do this. One portion of matter cannot occupy the same space as a second portion. It is another of the great differences between the psychozoic and all previous stages of evolution, between man and all else that we know in the universe, that the discrete units reached at this level of organisation, the individual beings, can achieve interpenetration by means of their minds." [2] It is when

[1] Cf. J. Adams, *op. cit.* pp. 147, 307-8.

Dr. Temple says (*Christus Veritas,* 1924, p. 5) : " I should find the differentia of Spirit in the sense of Absolute Value, and therefore of obligation ; this, at its height, is Love, or personal union. Because Spirit is, or has, the sense of absolute value, it also is, or has, the capacity for fellowship with God."

[2] *Essays of a Biologist* (1923), pp. 282-283. He continues : " When you expound a new idea to me, and I grasp it, our minds have obviously interpenetrated. This is a simple case ; but there may be an intimate union of mind with mind which is the basis of the

men, by this power of personality, comprehend the universe as similarly organised that they can come into effective relationship with it. "This, to my mind," says Mr. Huxley, "is what actually happens when men speak of communion with God. It is a setting, an organising of our experiences in the universe in relation with the driving forces of our soul or mental being, so that the two are united and harmonised." [1] We need not go beyond our experience. We may admit with Spencer that an Absolute God is unknowable, with Mr. H. G. Wells that there is a Veiled God, or that, in Mr. Huxley's own words, "there is a God far greater than our present idea and knowledge of God, only waiting to be discovered. We may leave it an open question whether that Absolute God is personal and if so in what sense." [2] But it is more than consonant with biology, it is, indeed, for an increasing number of biologists the clear outcome of biology itself, that men should be "giving the name of God to the sum of the forces acting in the cosmos as perceived and grasped by human mind. We can therefore now say that God is one, but that, though one, has several aspects. . . . By organising our knowledge of outer reality after the pattern of a personality, we make it possible for it to penetrate our private personality . . . that reality which

highest spiritual achievement and the greatest happiness. If mind and matter are two great properties of the same world-substance, then the rise of mind to dominance has enabled this basic substance to escape from some of the imprisoning limitations which confined it at lower levels of its development." With this may be compared the conclusions of one who is at once philosopher, psychologist, and educationist. Dr. Adams writes (*op. cit.* p. 194): "The view of the plain man is that the soul as one independent entity approaches the world as another independent entity, and gathers from that world certain facts that are found to be useful. The facts existed before, outside of the soul, and the process of knowledge is the process of seeking out those facts and taking possession of them. The idealistic view is that soul and outer world are parts of one great spiritual system that act and react upon each other while functioning naturally within this system in such a way that as a result of this interaction an organised content is built up within and forms a part of the soul."

[1] *Essays of a Biologist,* p. 284. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 266-267.

includes not only the celestial bodies, or the rocks and the waters, not only evolving life, but also other human beings, also ideas, also ideals." [1] So far as our experience, and valid argument from that experience, will carry us we have the best reasons for saying that the inmost life of the universe, like our own, is personal.

Much the same argument is followed by Prof. J. Arthur Thomson when he sums up man as an outcome of the evolutionary process whose distinguishing features are at once solidarity with the rest of creation and apartness from it.[2] He tells us that his book, *What is Man?*, "is especially an exposition of the fundamental biological facts as they appear to a biologist who does not regard them as supreme." [3] But he leaves us in no doubt as to the element in human life which he accounts of first importance. It is "a recognition —practical, emotional, or intellectual—of a higher order of reality than is reached in sense-experience." [4] The decisive factor in anything that can truly be called progress is the interpretation we give to the bare facts that we ascertain by purely scientific processes of enquiry. Philosophy and religion come in to complete our power of knowing ourselves and our universe. Man is distinguished from the rest of the animal world by the size and the quality of his brain. But that is not all. "This fine cerebral cortex, with its 9,200,000,000 nerve cells, is the protoplasmic correlate of

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 262, 284. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 25. [3] *Ibid.* Preface.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 222. "Science," he says, "seeks to find out formulae that will sum up what happens in the world of sense-experience. It tries to make these laws as clear and short and concise as possible. Its theoretical end is to describe; its practical end is to control. It does not get much beyond saying, 'If this, then that.' For it deals with measurable aspects of fractions of reality; it works with 'counters,' such as corpuscles, which have to be taken as given; its causal descriptions are usually statements of sequence; it cannot get back to beginnings. In short, it is an abstract method of describing the routine of our sensory experience. . . . Religious concepts are transcendental, those of science are empirical. The aim of Science is description. The aim of religious theory is interpretation. The two may clash in *form*, but in idea they are incommensurable." *Ibid.* p. 222.

man's true insignia—his capacity for working with general ideas, for language, for strong social sympathies, and for self-consciousness of himself, as a personality with a history." So writes Professor Thomson,[1] and carries us again, by the biological pathway, to that belief in the value of human personality which, as we saw, is becoming, though slowly, the predominant idea in our everyday world. And once again we find that this conception implies a corresponding conception of the universe, for we are plainly told, on the same scientific grounds, that "we have a price to pay for the truth that there is in the Darwinian doctrine of Man's solidarity (*sc.* with the animal creation), and that tax is that we do not always think worthily enough of man. Some people never get past talking of him as no more than a biped mammal with an unusually large brain and a strong herd-instinct. Of course, that is true, but how far from expressing the whole truth. For Man at his best discovers the secret motions of things, and uses his knowledge to bend Nature to his purposes. He seeks after the True, the Beautiful, and the Good. He sends his tendrils to the stars!"[2]

It is in pursuit of this train of thought regarding human personality, the spirit of man, that we find ourselves faced

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 26.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 27. Cf. also his *Everyday Biology* (1923), p. 122. Professor Arthur Dendy, in *The Biological Foundations of Society* (1924), pp. 66-68, 180, dwells upon the same point: "A human society," he says, "contains within itself possibilities of progress which even an insect community does not possess. These lie in the far more highly developed mental faculties, and above all in what, were it not for fear of being misinterpreted, I should like to call the spiritual faculties of man. It is just the existence of these faculties in its individual members that makes it so difficult for many people to concede the organic nature of human society as a whole, for, by virtue of their existence, the individual man has, in the slow course of evolution, developed a soul—if again I may make use of a term which each will interpret according to his own convictions." In a later passage Professor Dendy says that progress demands the power of formulating ideals and of adaptation to these—the power which distinguishes mankind from the lower animals and makes the human race something more or less apart from the rest of the world of life.

by a discussion of values. When the great theologian Ritschl based so much upon value-judgments (Jesus Christ, he said, for us has the value of God), his critics accused him of building upon the sand, which would inevitably prove to be shifting in accordance with its nature, however firm its surface might appear. That criticism might apply to any theory of the universe, to any estimate of the worth of personality, if our judgments of value were made merely for practical purposes, and without relation to the other lines of enquiry and reflection that are open to us. In point of fact, we are far from mere pragmatism or pleasant self-deception when we set up the sacredness of human personality as a supreme standard by which our individual and social life must be tested, and accept spiritual values as ultimate and regulative not only for ourselves but also for the universe. In the end our biologists and psychologists, no less than our philosophers and theologians, are confronted by the same challenge. In the story of evolution values appear with man, and the highest attainment of the human species is the attainment of absolute values—the conviction that what makes life worth living for man at his best has abiding value, not simply for him as an individual or for the human society of which he is a part, but for the whole universe.[1] As we

[1] Cf. Julian Huxley, *op. cit.* pp. 258-260. "Putting it summarily we can say that, with the rise of mind to dominance, various activities of mind came to be pursued for their own sake, to have value in themselves. Our life is worth living not only for the sake of eating and drinking, sleeping, athletics, and sexual pleasure. There is a value attached to knowledge for its own sake, apart from the possible access of control that it may bring. But this is new, a property of man alone. . . . Natural beauty comes to have its value too. . . . Behaviour also is implicated . . . there comes a conviction that some modes of action are higher than others; and so a scale of moral values comes into being. Nor is it merely that values, in the strict sense, are created; nor that new values come into being. But with the enlargement of mind and its more perfect organisation, there arises a new method of appraising values, and so a new type of value altogether. I mean, of course, the so-called *absolute values*." Mr. Huxley introduces the adjective "so-called" in order to safeguard the fact that so long as human life has not attained perfection,

make progress we correct our estimates and recognise that "time makes ancient good uncouth," but we grow out of what our forbears held to be ultimate truth because we are growing into what is actually ultimate truth. We know our values to be higher than some of theirs, even though we still be "a little lower than the angels." The affirmation that we are constrained by all the laws of logic and common sense, as well as by the outcome of experience, to make is that the values supreme in the universe must be at least not inferior to the best that we "have seen and felt and handled."

Professor A. S. Pringle-Pattison has shown how, since Kant asserted its unique importance, the consideration of values has occupied the minds of philosophers. "At the present day," he says, "philosophical discussion is carried

so long will it involve a process of continually closer approximation to ultimate truth. For a description of the way in which the child discovers not only that he is a "self," but becomes "the spectator" of his selves (the hungering, thirsting, laughing, crying selves), then "learns to arrange his selves in an order of importance and preference . . . to relate his several selves to the world or worlds in which he lives," and so "learns a scale or scales of values," see E. T. Campagnac, *Society and Solitude* (1922), p. 132. Cf. W. Temple, *Mens Creatrix* (1917): "God must mean good for somebody; apart from consciousness value is non-existent. And yet it seems impossible to say that the value is *in* the appreciating mind. It exists *for* it, and only so; but it is *in* the object. So the object when appreciated becomes something which it was not until then. But if so, and if there are various values which cannot be all realised for the same consciousness, then the variety of intelligences is necessary for the full actualisation of the value of the world. The complete truth, therefore, if we include Value, is only grasped by the whole society of intelligences, and can never be fully grasped by one alone." p. 84. From this Dr. Temple goes on to deduce "the existence of an infinite Mind realising the value precisely of the whole of the values realised in the experience of the collective society of intellects; the recognition of this Infinite Mind as Eternal Will, purposing the Universe for the Value which it will realise therein" (*ibid.* p. 90). In *Human Value* (1923) Henry Sturt develops the view that the criterion of progress, from the standpoint of ethics, is increasing value attached to human personality in relation to human society, but he does not go beyond the finite.

on more explicitly in terms of value than at any previous time." Yet we shall find, if we go back to Plato and Aristotle, that their thought revolved around the same problems. When we are told that "the philosophic interest of consciousness lies in the ideal values of which it is, so to say, the bearer, not in its existence as a more refined kind of fact," we are confirmed in our every-day practice of measuring men by what they do in fact put first in life as they live it. But the real strength and inspiration that we draw from the work of our philosophers is due to their perpetual insistence, in varying form and on diverse grounds, that "to frame an ideal and pursue it means the presence of the infinite in the finite experience; or, from the other side, it is the mark of the finite being who is partaker in an infinite life. All claims, therefore, made on man's behalf, must be based on the objectivity of the values revealed in his experience and brokenly realised there. Man does not make values any more than he makes reality."[1] In other words, human life is characterised by its power to distinguish between higher and lower, good and better. Human personality, as Prof. W. McDougall has recently argued, is not to be explained by "likening it to an animal mechanism," but to "a well-organised harmonious human society, a society which could adjust itself to a thousand disturbances and could recover itself from grave disorders,

[1] Pringle-Pattison, *op. cit.* pp. 39, 181, 239. Prof. J. S. Mackenzie has recently published a brief but important discussion of the whole subject under the title *Ultimate Values in the Light of Contemporary Thought* (1924). He says: "Spiritual beings are chiefly distinguished from other modes of existence by the fact that they have conscious purposes, in which they are more or less definitely guided by some idea of good; in other words, by the fact that they pursue values. Thus we may say that the most fundamental problem in philosophy lies in the question whether our universe is to be interpreted in terms of value or in terms of mechanical movement, or whether these two aspects are to be recognised as fundamentally distinct or even more or less opposed to each other." *Op. cit.* p. 75. And again, "We cannot invent values; we can only discover them. On the other hand it has to be recognised that most values are relative." *Op. cit.* p. 110.

just because and in so far as each member, endowed with limited powers of adaptation, steadfastly strove to achieve the goal prescribed by his own nature and by his active relations with all his fellow-citizens." [1] He is impelled to that increasing effort by his devotion to values which become clearer to him as he attains to a larger knowledge of the Whole. He does not judge them singly or selfishly, but as part of the universe in which he finds himself, and the values by which he lives correspond in their measure to the nature of Reality. "The character of experience as a revelation of the world of values is pretty clear," says Professor Bosanquet; the question is: "Can we understand or appreciate the world of eternal values in its character as a whole?" and his answer is that while obviously we cannot do so completely, we can and do in our limited experience share "the real thing"—"what is durable and permanent, what is alive and comes of itself, the whole object that calls out the whole mind, in a word, what satisfies." And this "intrinsic connection of reality and value" depends upon the ultimate fact that "we are in a world which is wholly one both with itself and with ourself." [2]

[1] Presidential Address to the Psychological Section of the British Association, Toronto, 1924; *The Times*, August 9, 1924.

[2] Essay in *Contemporary British Philosophy*, pp. 70-73. In *Christus Veritas* Dr. Temple starts from the principle of Value, arguing that the Universe is explicable only as the outcome of creative Will, and that Will acts always for the sake of value, or good. "The correlative of Will is Good, or Value; therefore the most fundamental element in things is their Value. This is not a property which they have incidentally; it is the constituent principle, the true self, of every existent.... The real cause of the world's existence ... is Absolute Value, which is known to us in the three forms of Truth, Beauty, and Goodness (of character).... In all Value, Totality is the distinguishing feature.... The whole, for us, is the Will of God and what it has created; therefore every apprehension of Value is in principle a religious experience.... Certainly there is no apprehension of Value which is not an inchoate apprehension of God—and no human experience is utterly without value." pp. 7-34.

Thus also Dr. F. H. Bradley builds upon his closely reasoned exposition of the philosophical belief that varying degrees in truth and reality are revealed in our human experience—that experience which is our only starting point for any enquiry into the nature of ultimate reality—the tremendous conclusion that "We can find no province of the world so low but the Absolute inhabits it. Nowhere is there even a single fact so fragmentary and so poor that to the universe it does not matter. There is truth in every idea, however false, there is reality in every existence, however slight; and, where we can point to reality and truth, there is the one undivided life of the Absolute." Our scale of values is constantly corrected as we attain to wider comprehension of experience and greater consistency of thought. But this is because "Reality is, in the end, the sole perfect realisation of spirit. . . . Outside of spirit, there is not, and there cannot be, any reality, and the more that anything is spiritual, so much the more is it veritably real." [1]

As freely as we talk of persons and personality do we talk of the spirit of man. By this, as we have seen, we mean the element in personal and social life which is not comprehended in body and mind, though it transfuses them. If all that we have said of personality in man and in the universe is true, we are committed to the faith that the spirit of man answers to the spirit of the universe. Spiritual values are those which belong to the human person in common with the universe known also as personal. They do not detach him from the physical, the intellectual, the moral in his daily round. They interpret and ennoble these —his bodily functions and pleasures, his intellectual pursuits, his work, his privileges and duties in relation to his kith and kin, his place in the life of the city, the state, the world of nations—by placing them in a universal setting.[2] When

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 487, 552.

[2] Cf. R. H. Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society* (1921), p. 241. "Society will not solve the particular problems of industry which afflict it until . . . it has learned to see industry itself in the right perspective. If it is to do that, it must rearrange its scale of

those values are recognised he will " take himself immortally "—and will take all other human beings so. A light will be shed upon the long path of his pilgrimage to the here and now, and with equal clearness will be irradiated the way of his feet to " a city that has foundations," the place of the perfect society. Not *what* he is or does will be taken into account so much as *why* his life is of that quality or his actions of such a kind. The supreme question about him is not *whether* he can attain to the best men know in character or relationships, conditions of life or power of service, but *how* he is to be helped to attain them. For the fact of his personality demands that we should choose, and be free, to live at the level of the universal.[1]

Now no man is compelled by any force outside himself to take this view or to accept and live by these values : there is no mathematical proof of their reality and supremacy in the universe. If he is fortunate, the influence of the society whereof he is an immediate member will encourage him to do so. If he has a responsive temperament, Nature and Art will foster such a faith in him. But he may live in a hideous slum or be the victim of a commercialised or materialistic type of society. He may encounter foes to this philosophy of life that spring from the depths of

values. It must regard economic interests as one element in life, not as the whole of it.

" In a Christian Society social institutions, economic activity, industrial organisation cease to be either indifferent or merely means for the satisfaction of human appetites. They are judged, not merely by their convenience, but by standards of right and wrong. They become stages in the progress of mankind to perfection, and derive a certain sacramental significance from the spiritual end to which, if only as a kind of squalid scaffolding, they are ultimately related. . . .

" In discharging its commission, therefore, a Christian Church will constantly enter the departments of politics and of economic relations, because it is only a bad modern convention which allows men to forget that these things, as much as personal conduct, are the sphere of the spirit and the expression of character." *Ibid.* p. 235.

[1] Cf. Horace Fleming's pamphlet : *Adult Education : Its Meaning and Significance* (1923).

his own soul. Across the casket of spiritual values is always to be found the inspiring legend :

Who chooseth me must give and hazard all he hath.

The future for this and every country, as for every man and woman in any country, hangs upon their willingness to choose deliberately this theory of the universe, this individual and communal way of life, which sees spiritual values as universal and ultimate. "One thing is certain : *that the scientific man has no right to close doors dogmatically*," declares Professor Thomson.[1] But the open mind is not enough. Mr. Edwyn Bevan reminds us that necessary choice is inseparable from human life. We have always to make a leap in some direction. "In rationalist inference we make the leap in the trust that laws or uniformities we have discovered in the little bit of the pattern we have seen hold good over the rest." But life makes demands upon us for more than speculative thought. "Why should we make any leap at all, why not confine ourselves to the little bit of reality we have seen ? The answer is that we are not only spectators of reality, we are also makers of reality. When we *act*, we create a new bit of reality. . . . The movement of time compels us, whether we want to or not, to act. But for action we need to form some hypothesis as to the universe in which we act, as to what lies beyond the range of previous experience. It is before the compulsion to act that all agnosticism breaks down." [2]

If then agnosticism with regard to spiritual values as supreme in human personality and in the universe is in practice impossible, what is the alternative to the acceptance of those values, with all that such acceptance implies ? In brief it is the state of society that brought about the war and that vitiated the peace. Such a state of society is no accident. We cannot honestly look upon it as an

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 79.

[2] *Hellenism and Christianity* (1921), pp. 238-239. Cf. Mackenzie, *op. cit.* p. 102 : "What has true value, or what is really good, is not simply to be identified with what is desired or chosen, but only with what is chosen after careful reflection, or, in other words, with that which is an object of rational choice."

unfortunate but inevitable stage in man's upward climb. It is not merely bad in contrast with better things which we have known or which the painters of Utopias set before us. It is positively wrong, intrinsically evil. And it is attributable, not to the action of hidden and malignant impersonal forces, but to the faults of human persons. Men and women, whether in positions of power and leadership or merely as making up the mass of an industry, a municipality, a nation or any other group, have been ignorant or undisciplined. Either they have never perceived spiritual values as real, or they have refused loyalty to them in thought and deed. Perhaps in almost every case the old tragedy has been re-enacted. Seeing and approving the better, they have followed the worse. So human personality has been disregarded or exploited, and the central facts of the universe have been ignored or blasphemed. Indeed, though the result has been the same, the reasons for it may be even more pitiful. Those who have had the light have carelessly or purposefully allowed the rest to wander and blunder in semi-darkness. At the back of all our mistakes and failures lies our lack of a true theory of the universe, or our lack of the courage and persistence to live by such a theory so far as we may have attained to it. This question of values is by no means academic or remote from practical life. What we do about it every day, consciously or unconsciously, determines to the last detail the quality and conditions of the life that we and our neighbours live.

It is all the more heartening, therefore, to find that there is an awakening in progress among our people, as there is in other lands. Most promising of all for real progress in the near future is the fact that this awakening is particularly widespread among those who are concerned with education. And when we examine the educational situation we discover that insistence upon the supremacy of spiritual values is implicitly or explicitly a vital element in the adult education movement, and has been so throughout its history in this country. Here then we have resources of high potentiality, though they need further exploration and infinitely greater development.

II

EDUCATION AS A SPIRITUAL ACTIVITY

To define education is the happy privilege of the undergraduate with an essay to write, or of the theorist with a doctrine to establish. It would not be difficult to compile a large and illuminating book from the innumerable definitions already offered to a bewildered world. Our present purpose will be better served by recalling the work of those historians of education who have shown how theories change and practice varies from generation to generation.[1] This development has been due, not only to the enrichment of experience and thought within the sphere of education itself, but also and in equal measure to the influence of many other factors in the life of the community. Education is affected by religion and politics, by social change and economic circumstance, by class-consciousness and world-consciousness, to specify only a casual half-dozen of the many threads that intertwine in the warp and woof of so complex a fabric. We make as serious a mistake when we try to consider education in abstraction from all the interests and activities of ordinary human existence as we do when we consider it only as subservient to some narrow and material purpose, be this the winning of bread and butter for ourselves or the fashioning of human instruments for providing us with cake.

What education at certain periods and under some con-

[1] *E.g.* Prof. J. Adams, *The Development of Educational Theory* (1915); Prof. J. W. Adamson, *A Short History of Education* (1919); W. Boyd, *The History of Western Education* (1921). To these should now be added Prof. Helen Wodehouse's *Survey of the History of Education* (1924).

ditions has actually been, as contrasted with what it ought to have been and might have been, is a theme for the sympathetic satirist. Cold narration does not cut deep enough. In England our hoary universities, our much-prized public schools, our grammar schools of ancient foundation have all had their dark days. We of the present generation can scarcely be proud of a system that compels the newer universities to give undue heed to the demands of the manufacturer for courses leading to industrial and commercial degrees, that every year shuts the doors of the secondary schools in the faces of thousands of boys and girls seeking entrance, that makes it a matter of considerable credit for a new Minister of Education if he proceeds immediately to reduce the numerical limit of all classes in elementary schools to fifty, and that shows the expenditure (direct and indirect) of the State on adult education to be in the neighbourhood of ·05 of its total education estimates for the year.[1] Neither can we endorse the enthusiasm of those who are more eager to cut down the rates than to build up the life of the community, more triumphant over reduced taxation than over increased human capacity. These things are lamentable and reprehensible on the most severely prudential grounds. They argue less a low appreciation of spiritual values than an almost complete indifference to them. Our citizenship, individual and corporate, is to blame.

Yet, taking education as a whole, and allowing as much as we must for deficiencies in conception and realisation at every point, it can scarcely be denied that ideally and essentially education is an affair of the spirit. There are in the world, as there have ever been, enough teachers and parents who understand and fulfil their high task to prove the truth of such an assertion, however deplorable and numerous may be the instances of "success" at a lower level. There are also educational administrators and plain

[1] For a convenient summary of outstanding facts cf. R. H. Tawney, *Secondary Education for All* (1923) and *Education : the Socialist Policy* (1924). See also the Annual Reports of the Board of Education, the Board's Annual Estimates, etc.

citizens who cherish this belief, act upon it at all costs, and are gradually coming to be recognised as occupying the only sound and satisfactory position from a practical as well as an idealist point of view.

No sensible person would under-rate the importance of physical and intellectual equipment for the everyday business of life. Whether we look upon competition as the law of survival and the pathway to prosperity for the individual and for society, or whether we regard co-operation as the indispensable condition of all that can properly be called human progress and happiness, we must agree that a healthy body, skilled hands, and a trained intelligence are essential for everyone. The demand for nursery schools, school clinics, the raising of school-leaving age, school meals and a decent minimum standard of housing, is not born of a materialist conception of human personality. To shape the later studies in a school or college curriculum with a definite view to the prospective occupations in life of boys and girls or undergraduates is simple commonsense. Ample provision of technical and professional training, whether in full-time courses or in evening classes, is the obvious duty that we owe to those who will be called upon to do the world's work and to make the most, for the common good, of all the human and material resources that the world contains. To reckon these as preliminaries is not to deny that they are necessary, or that a great deal more attention should be paid to them than is paid at present. The ditch and not the Kingdom of Heaven is the destiny of the blind leaders of the blind. Idealism is the worst of excuses for sheer bungling of elementary social organisation, and is blasphemed when it is quoted in defence of plain neglect to put any human being into full possession of his or her own physical and intellectual possibilities.[1]

[1] To set technical and scientific education in opposition to humanistic betrays a false conception of both. But this has led to evils that most people deplore without recognising their source. "The divorce of industrial life from the life of the spirit is one of the tragedies of the age," said Sanderson of Oundle. For this reason and because he saw in science a stimulus to the creative spirit, he

When that has been said, and still more when it has been acted upon, we are not less but rather all the more free to hold that character and purpose should be our supreme concern in education. What a man is may be very closely affected by what he can (or cannot) do, but it is the fundamental fact about him. The kind of mind that animates his body and the sort of spirit that dominates him in the use of his knowledge and skill surely matter more than anything else. No more searching test of education can be applied than to ask whether it has so equipped a man's mind and developed his spirit as to enable him to play his part well in a society where spiritual values are ultimate. That is why the reply to criticisms of the " Mission " native in Africa, of certain products (falsely assumed to be characteristic) of " elementary education " in England, or even of certain types of young people educated at secondary schools or in universities, is so obvious. The defects in character or citizenship of which so much is made are undeniable. But they are not due to a superfluity of education. On the contrary, the quantity and the quality of the education given have been, for various and quite definite reasons, inadequate to the needs of these particular individuals, or even of the whole company to which they belong. All the facts reinforce the logic of the theory that, if the kind of mind and the sort of spirit resulting from education are of such vital importance, education can and must be lifelong. For in these respects man continues to grow until he dies, and, whatever our formal creed, we most of us are persuaded in our hearts that for us death is but the gateway to larger life.

It is on broad grounds of this kind that we find an educationist like Dr. William Temple, with practical experience

became a pioneer of a new type of education. Cf. H. G. Wells, *The Story of a Great Schoolmaster* (1924), pp. 103-107. Cf. also R. H. Tawney, *Education*, p. 21. Mr. Henry Ford does not quite rise to this level, but he does at least say : " The best that education can do for a man is to put him in possession of his powers, give him control of the tools with which destiny has endowed him, and teach him to think." *My Life and Work* (new edn. 1924), p. 248.

as a university teacher, a public-school master, and a leader in the Workers' Educational Association, emphasizing the development of a true corporate spirit as the chief service rendered to the community by public schools in the past, the most promising tendency in elementary schools of the present time, and a prime factor in the task of university and adult education.

"The most important kind of fact for a man to understand," he says, "is all that may be gathered up in the phrase 'human nature.' Whatever we are going to do in the world we shall have to do with other men." [1] This humanism distinguishes all true educationists.

Long ago Matthew Arnold said that "the prime direct aim" of education "is to enable a man to know himself and the world." [2] Professor Campagnac has developed a similar conception in a book of great insight and charm. "Education," he writes, "is to make a man master of himself and of his own world; to make him aware of his neighbours and their worlds; and to teach him and them together to make all their several worlds a new, a social, world, a society which embraces, reconciles and transcends them, and to live in that new world. What is important to note is that the

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 238. "Understanding, in the case of all human questions, always means sympathy, and the aim of education may be summed up by saying that it is the development of everything about a man which distinguishes him from an animal or a machine —the discipline of intelligence, the quickening of imagination, and the widening of sympathy. But if that is true, it is not necessary to argue further that for liberty, moral or political, education in its threefold form of discipline, initiation into social life, and instruction, is the primary requisite. By means of it the individual is put in the way of fashioning the unity of his own soul's internal harmony, and becomes fit to take his place in the community as one element in that larger harmony. In the degree in which his faculties are at once developed and harmonised he approaches the state of perfect moral freedom wherein a man's whole life is freely given to the pursuit of a purpose lofty enough to claim the service of all his powers and rich enough to give them scope." *Ibid.* p. 242.

[2] *Schools Inquiry Commission Report*, vol. vi. p. 592, quoted by J. W. Adamson, *op. cit.* p. 326.

new social world cannot embrace and reconcile the smaller individual worlds unless it transcends them." [1] Here once more we come upon that relationship between the individual and society, the personal and the universal, finite and infinite values, which we have already seen to be essential to any philosophy that covers all the facts. Professor Campagnac shows that if the "social world" of which he speaks is to have meaning and reality at all for men it can only be as it has "an over-self, a real or spiritual self, which gives significance and unity to the visible total of their energies and achievements." [2]

To take but one illustration of the significance that this gives to all education, Prof. Campagnac points out that science has been departmentalised, robbed of its soul by the methods applied to the study of it, but he proceeds: "Of course, we must learn science, and the sciences; of course we must apply them to practical uses. But why? Not in order that we may get more armchairs and more explosives; but in order that we may get at reality and discover and possess in ourselves a life which, if rich, shall yet be intelligent because unified, and in a society which, if large and made of many elements, shall yet be governed by a unifying belief." [3]

Through thirty years of incessant experiment and tireless effort Sanderson pursued this vision at Oundle. He had an intensely practical mind. He wanted to make school not a preliminary to life, completely different in thought, occupation, and atmosphere from the world into which the boy would be plunged when he left school, but a veritable initiation. He was not content unless *every* boy had discovered his bent, learned how best to make his contribution to the common life, and imbibed as the very soul of all happy and useful living the principle of co-operation. So he taught boys to use their hands as well as their brains. He evoked the creative spirit in them. Not only did he make provision for an unusually wide range of choice within the regular curriculum of the school; he was willing to

[1] *Society and Solitude*, p. 19. [2] *Ibid.* p. 25. [3] *Ibid.* p. 112.

start a class in any subject wherein a group of boys displayed a genuine interest. "He wished," says a colleague, "to fill the school with everything that could interest and inspire, so that no germ of life, mental or spiritual, in any boy, should perish for lack of a suitable soil." [1] In every case the approach was on the line of scientific experiment; boys working in groups set themselves to find things out, to explore, to know one another and one another's worlds. And why? "The business of schools," Sanderson told his boys, "is through and by the use of a common service to get at the true spiritual nature of the ordinary things we have to deal with." On another occasion he said to them, "We believe that schools should move on towards becoming always a microcosm of the new world. A microcosm, an experiment, of the standards of value, of the commandments, the statutes and judgments, of the organisation, of the visions and aims of a coming world." [2] He had before him nothing less than the hope of changing the aims and ideals of our national life in every aspect, including that of international relationships, but especially in the field of industry and commerce. During the last few years of his life he seized every opportunity of explaining to meetings of business men and others all over the country not only what he was trying to do with his boys at Oundle and expected them to try to do when they left, but how urgent it was that these same ideals should be established in factories and shops and warehouses, in politics and local government, in all the work and play of the world.

"Now men are beginning to believe that the first product of industry must be for the worker; that the worker should

[1] *Sanderson of Oundle* (1923), p. 106. As he told his audience when speaking within a few minutes of his death, he had masters for mathematics, physics, chemistry, mechanics, biology, zoology, anthropology, botany, geology, architecture, classics, history, literature, geography, archaeology, economics, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Russian, Eastern languages, art, applied art, handicrafts, and music. *Ibid.* p. 364.

[2] H. G. Wells, *The Story of a Great Schoolmaster*, pp. 57, 81. Cf. *Sanderson of Oundle* (1923), pp. 39-41, 44-45, 77, 202, 211, 358.

grow physically, intellectually, spiritually by his work. . . . This leads to great organic changes. It will lead to no less a thing than closing down certain productions, certain classes of occupation, certain industries or processes. It will lead to a modification of repetition work; and to adjustments in organisation. I hope to show the bearing of this on our educational methods, and how the ideals implied may bring some help in diagnosing Labour unrest. . . . We are concerned to-day with the part education must take in this change of ideals of life. It is not too much to say that without the influence of a reconstructed education the way to change in the ideals of men will be hard to find." But he believed that the spirit of service would create great changes in the social system, "a rewriting of all the standards of value," and thus the development of "a new order of economics, finance, ethics, diplomacy, administration." For that reason he wished his boys to bring to the study of everything—literature and history, art, music, divinity, or whatever it might be—what he regarded as "the vital elements of science—discovery, uncertainty, doubt, service, mysticism." [1]

The words of a prophetic professor of education have been quoted, and the example of a headmaster who recreated a public school on so striking a model has been cited, neither because they are unique in the history of education nor because they are so typical of current thought and practice as to be commonplace. They are indicative of truths which find differing expression in every generation, but which belong to the essentials of human experience. It is when we notice the crest of a great wave curling into sparkling foam that our attention is drawn to the great volume of water beneath it, advancing surely, swiftly and with a majestic unity; then our thoughts turn to the mighty tides, the silent forces that move the sea itself. We should write ourselves down as ignorant of history and regardless of evolution in human society were we to suggest

[1] *A Great Schoolmaster*, pp. 98-99. *Sanderson of Oundle*, pp. 341, 349.

that now for the first time humanism is coming to its own in education and that spiritual values are for the first time receiving due recognition. But to trace and illustrate the ways and degrees by which as a nation we have attained even the present average level of educational life would involve far too great an excursus. Similarly we cannot stay to examine, as it were, the length, the breadth, and the depth of the wave whereof its crest has made us aware, or to estimate the speed with which it is moving ; we can but remind ourselves that crest, wave, and sea are indivisibly one. Their unity is in their substance and quality. What does concern us is to realise what these are and by what laws their movement is governed and may be utilised. Variations and apparent exceptions will be numerous enough. But they should serve only to help us to a more complete understanding of the main facts.

It is to be understood, therefore, that we are not generalising from the two or three instances cited in this chapter—instances in themselves sufficiently remarkable to be considered exceptional unless they are set very deliberately and dispassionately against their true background. Rather do our illustrations point to the situation as it is in its broad outlines, and to the visions and ideals which may far surpass achievement but which animate endeavour and determine the direction of all progress. They show how teachers who are true to type do, as a matter of fact, give effect to the principle which we began by stating.[1]

Our point, then, is that the understanding and appreciation of spiritual values, personal, social, and universal, and the strengthening of desire and will to act accordingly, as

[1] " The great educators always tell us that we must appeal to the child's own sense of absolute values ; for that sense is in the child, and it is the same in all children, though it may vary in strength. It is the common faith of all great educators that absolute values are always of the same nature in all human beings. That faith is the reason why they are educators, why education seems to them the most interesting thing in the world." A. C. Clutton-Brock, Introduction to Kenneth Richmond's *Permanent Values in Education* (1920), p. xiii.

well as the acquirement of the knowledge and power that make such action possible, have always been and must always be the life-principle of any education worthy of the name. It is only so far as it has embodied this principle, implicitly or explicitly, that any educational system or movement has survived. There has been much education of a superficial or materialistic type, much that has been intended to appeal to mere self-interest, much that has been supposed to leave spiritual issues alone. Deeper analysis, we believe, will in every instance reveal that the work has gone on and enduring results have been achieved ultimately because it has done something, whether little or much, to bring the personality of the child, the adolescent, or the adult, into a living relationship with reality in other personalities, in the material world, and in the universe. It makes a man consciously a member of a universal spiritual fellowship.

Education, indeed, cannot be other than a social process, an interaction of personalities. Even if a man has no teacher save his books, the books are but the media by which other minds make their impact on his own. And if perchance he cannot read but, solitary on the hillside or in wide spaces under the changing sky and the silent stars, must needs learn from Nature, then "in 'Nature' personality is actively present everywhere," for "through analysis of what experience involves we are led up to the conception of the Universe as personality. In our relations to fellow-men, fellow-animals, and Nature as a whole, we find that this personality is not that of an individual man, but that all-embracing personality which we call God." The words are those of an eminent scientist in a course of lectures given to his students in a physiological laboratory. He goes on to say that "it is only in social life that a person realises his real nature. Regard for truth that is truth for others, and regard for duty that is duty to others, belong to his nature." [1] The barest conception of education in any ordinary sense involves this minimum of teaching and

[1] J. S. Haldane, *Mechanism, Life and Personality* (second edn. 1921), pp. 125, 135, 129.

learning in the matter of common truths and common duties. Yet here we are at once in the realm of human and spiritual values. These elemental facts and values may be overlaid and obscured by a mass of trivialities, they may be rendered almost lifeless by unintelligent handling or by the impossibility under prevailing conditions of securing adequate personal contact between teacher and pupil, they may be subordinated to the accumulation of facts or the attainment of mechanical skill. Conversely, they may be made the nucleus of an evergrowing knowledge of reality and the basis of a constantly increasing range of relationships. But in either event they are there, and they are spiritual values. Nor do they belong only to the earlier stages of the educational process. Whatever may be added and whatever may be the special bias or objective of educational activity at any given period, these at least must remain as an inseparable part of the experience.[1]

The mere admission of this as a fact, however, will not carry us far enough. If history shows that it is true, our current theory and practice ought to be brought consciously and completely into conformity with it. Otherwise we risk loss and may work mischief. Consequently the definite recognition, or otherwise, of the place of spiritual values in education by those responsible for any particular phase of it becomes a matter of the greatest possible moment. *Vivere congruenter naturae* was, after all, a very wise maxim, though the outcome of living in accordance with nature obviously depends upon what nature is conceived to be. But once this has been determined, it is possible to struggle against that nature, ignore it, or work with it. In the end it is not possible either to destroy or to alter it. There remains for us a choice which we cannot evade ; we must of necessity

[1] " We still think and act as if there were several kinds of education—elementary, secondary, technical, academic. There may be many modes of education, but there can be only one kind ; there may be many stages, but only one foundation ; there may be many roads, but only one goal—the discovery and realisation made by a man of himself and of the world in which he lives and the serene enjoyment of both." E. T. Campagnac, *op. cit.* p. 96.

either distort it, stunt it, or develop it to the full. If it be admitted that "a person is no mere physical body among other bodies, no mere living organism, but a spiritual being which neither physical nor biological conceptions are capable of representing," and if it be further acknowledged that "the teleological determination of personality includes the whole of our world of experience, and is what gives unity and coherence to it," [1] education must at least be hopelessly impoverished if in our pursuit of it we are not explicitly and primarily concerned with spiritual values. A man may be "a god, though in germ," but he is likely to remain in the germ, or to make little progress beyond it, if the necessary nourishment of the god-like in him and an environment suitable to its unfolding are denied him. On the other hand, so potent is the spiritual element in human nature that any type of education which does not respond in some measure to its requirements may indeed cripple that spiritual element very tragically, but will, nevertheless, most assuredly sooner or later pay the penalty by itself falling into decay, and ultimately dying of inanition. But if it sees and subserves the intrinsic spiritual values in human life, education will then bring forth fruit of incalculable richness and permanence because it is working in harmony with forces implanted independently of it.[2]

[1] J. S. Haldane, *op. cit.* pp. 122, 124. Cf. Kenneth Richmond's discussion of the use of liberty in *Education for Liberty*, pp. 178-195, and his conclusion that it must be freedom for the whole personality —"that true liberty is, in its essence, a social rather than an individual privilege—that the justified claim to freedom is not only the demand for self-development, but for self-development in the power of effectual co-operation with others."

[2] Cf. Dean Burroughs in *Education and Religion* (1924), p. 228. "This is simply to say that the central problem of education is a religious one. Its task is to give the individual a view of the universe —which, in the nature of things, must be a faith, even a dogma—such that around it he will be able to organize all his life and in the light of it make all his decisions. The rightness of this faith, and so the wisdom of the educator, will appear by the extent to which the individual succeeds in assimilating into one harmonious self the results of every kind of circumstance, and in making, even in emergencies, decisions justified by their results."

It is not suggested that education in all times and in all forms has been consciously directed towards the elucidation of spiritual values. Unfortunately, there is abundant evidence, historical and contemporary, to the contrary. What is maintained is that where education has in any sense been alive and of use, it proved so in direct proportion to the place given in it and by it to these values. The validity of that argument will be examined later in the light of the history of that stage of education with which this book deals, the education of adults. It will further be tested by what can be ascertained of current motives and activities in this field.[1] Assuming for the time being that what has already been said about personality and spiritual values affords a sufficiently sound basis for this interpretation of the essential nature of all true education, the point now to be emphasised is the importance of making this dependence of education for success and persistence upon the primacy of spiritual values explicit in our educational aim and methods. There are those who deny that primacy, or even reject a spiritual interpretation of life altogether. These seem to be less in danger of making shipwreck than are the many more who in practice ignore it. Truth will prevail wherever men are in earnest. Her most subtle adversaries are those who seek to preserve a blameless and prudential neutrality of policy regarding matters on which no thoughtful man can be without some sort of conviction. With the best of intentions they turn the class-room into a lethal chamber. If we are to make education the enfranchisement of human beings that it ought to be, we must dare to accept the plain challenge : " If we live by the Spirit, by the Spirit let us also walk."

This of course does not constitute a plea for anything unpractical or other-worldly in education. It justifies neither sentimentalism nor dogmatism. All the investigations into the relationship between the physical and the mental make-up of a man seem to have ended for most well-balanced students of the subject in a hyphen. We

[1] *Vide* vol. i. cc. vi. and vii. ; vol. ii. c. i.

speak of body-mind or mind-body, because the one certain conclusion is that there is a vital connection between the two, and that we cannot, thus far at any rate, explain it. But the hyphen then becomes something quite other than a mark of agnosticism. For the sake of that hidden, ultimate, and all-important living entity and bond which it positively affirms, we find ourselves compelled to treat with the utmost care the two expressions of human personality which it connects. In like manner the spiritual nature of education and the spiritual values with which it deals establish the unity and demand the efficiency of all the ordinary educational processes.

It is indeed in and through these familiar things that the higher quest is made, and that the more intimate discoveries are achieved. This should be a truism to every university tutor and his students. It should be the great secret which every primary or secondary teacher holds in trust for girls and boys. Sloppiness is fatal to the perception of spiritual values, which become clear only after much hard and often humdrum work. A sketchy view of history or a vague acquaintance with mathematics, a memory for scientific formulae without an understanding of the processes they represent, carelessness in the use of language and indifference to logic—these will bring no one nearer to the meaning of reality or to a purposeful use of experience and opportunity. The same is true of specialised studies, whether technical or professional. The engineering apprentice who is content with the rule of thumb or the music student who never masters technique is unlikely ever to realise the significance of his work as an expression of personality, or to relate himself through that work to the larger life of society. Still less will he ever open for himself a window into the infinite.

Rightly considered, form and motive in education are not diminished but are increased in importance when spiritual values are given their proper place. A boy who is definitely being trained for a trade, an undergraduate qualifying for a profession, a man pursuing in his leisure time a course of

study that will enable him the more effectively to participate in politics or in the activities of his trade union, may and should be as fully set upon the appraisement of spiritual values as the boy who is following the general school curriculum, the university student devoting himself to the study of the humanities with as yet no thought of what he will afterwards do in the world, or the adult student who reads economics, history, or literature "for its own sake." In fact, the more definite the practical purpose, the greater may be the spiritual gain. For education unrelated to life is as futile as life undisciplined by education is dangerous.

All this may appear to be platitude of the dullest and most obvious description. Yet it is just at this point that disappointment and failure most often occur in all stages of education. The essential connection between spiritual values and practical purpose is missed. The seamless robe is rent in undiscerning haste to make but small and partial gain.

This is particularly so with regard to adult education. Facing a social order well-nigh wrecked by economic inequalities and maladjustments, feeling acutely the clash of interests and stung by a sense of injustice, there are many to whom talk of spiritual values seems an irrelevance, if not a sheer betrayal. Knowledge as an equipment for action is their demand. Others, no less sensitive to the wrongs and misunderstandings that vex the life of any modern nation, certainly not lacking in eagerness to put these right with the least possible delay, seek first a higher general level of intelligence infused by a more liberal culture. Thereby they hope to find the way of amelioration and progress, but spiritual values seem to them either so sacred that they are above the ordinary plane of education, or so contentious a subject that they cannot with safety be brought into the arena of discussion. And there is a third group who are either content to leave a hiatus between the spiritual and the practical, or who cleave to spiritual things after the fashion of Peter on the Mount of Transfiguration. They forget that the vision at the top is meant to enable men to

deal with the all too familiar situation at the bottom, and can become a permanent factor in life only as it is so used. They suppose that spiritual values can be made predominant in the world of affairs without close and continuous study of the actual conditions of human life in which they are to be maintained.

Quite probably no one would recognise either of these rough descriptions as even approximately applicable to himself, or would admit that it was a sufficient description even if he agreed that it was true as far as it went. Yet in practice these tendencies may constantly be observed. The reason is that we are all inclined to be obsessed by one or another of the special aspects of human society as we see it, and then to look at individuals through the glasses which we have thus coloured for ourselves. Our common failure is that we do not take into account, in the actual or in the ideal, the whole man, the complete society, or the entire universe. We forget Hegel's saying, that "the Truth is the Whole." If challenged we should at once repudiate the thought that a man is but the most intricate and admirable of mechanisms, the finest and most intelligent of animals. Shy as we might be of using such terms as spirit or soul, because these have been so often on the lips of the dreamer and the dogmatist, we cannot suffer any detraction from the dignity native to a man. We should not continue to strive and struggle for mere clay into which had never been breathed the breath of life. Nor would life as cold, clear mind alone evoke from us such dogged and passionate effort to set it free from slavery to material circumstance and win for it equality of opportunity in a commonwealth of persons.[1] We may be no metaphysicians, but we are conscious that man is more than body, more than mind, and more than an inexplicable correlation of the two.

[1] When Professor Huxley declared, in his famous definition of a liberal education, that the intellect should be "a clear cold logic engine," he spoke also of a personality "full of life and fire," with "a vigorous will," "a tender conscience," "a love of all beauty," and other attributes of humanity at its best. Cf. *Lay Sermons* (1874), p. 34.

For everyday purposes we are compelled to abstract from the completeness of personality, though even then the abstraction is only partial. But there is a sense in which the economic man, the political man, the aesthetic or religious man has to be considered and dealt with as such. That all of these are mere lay figures if taken in absolute isolation is a lesson which we learn from experience. The surprises, sweet and bitter, that come to us in politics and religion, industry and social organisation, and in every other distinctive sphere of human relationships, are eloquent of this. But in our enthusiasm and impetuosity, perhaps in our crudity and blindness, we insist on trying to live in an abstract world, because for the time being it seems to us so real and concrete.

The doctor or the politician, the employer or the trade union leader, may be under this necessity of seizing upon one aspect of human life and treating it for his special purposes as determinative, though all the time he is aware that there are other aspects which must not be forgotten. It is a dangerous necessity, for the exigencies of his problem may cause him to forget those other aspects and to develop a "realism" which ultimately involves him in disaster. But the necessity laid upon the educationist by the very nature of his task is of exactly the opposite character. He simply cannot select one set of interests, characteristics, needs or possibilities in a human personality, and proceed as though these are for him, and in the circumstances, the only ones that really matter. He cannot even concentrate upon spiritual values as separable from intellectual abilities or physical condition.[1] If he has to address himself with particular care to either of these three, to appeal to a special interest, to take unusual account of an outstanding characteristic, it is only that he may thereby the more surely compass the whole personality, and foster the well-propor-

[1] Cf. *e.g.* Sir G. Kekewich: *The Education Department and After* (1920), pp. 190-192. "You cannot educate children who live in such surroundings," ran the report of one H.M.I. to the Board of Education.

tioned growth of it. He is called upon to face day after day the ancient problem of the one and the many, not as a question in speculative philosophy, but as a primary consideration in the unifying and expanding of individual personalities and in the harmonisation of those personalities with their worlds. He cannot escape the universal. The slightest amount of reflection upon what each day's work demands from him will force him to ask what personality is, how each person is related to other persons and to the universe, what is the meaning and purpose of human life, where is to be found a scale of values that is ultimate and universal. How else is he to serve these boys and girls, men and women, who have been committed, or who have committed themselves, to his guidance ? And if he begins to enquire into these things, he can scarcely come to any conclusion other than that spiritual values are ultimate in human life, and that education, being therefore inevitably concerned with them, should both implicitly and explicitly direct enquiry and thought towards them.

There is all the more need of this explicitness in adult education because it is the culmination of all other stages in education, and because of the approach which most adult students do in fact, though by no fault of their own, make to it.

Whether an adult student has passed every turnpike on the educational highway (for, alas, on this road, broad and straight as it has now been made, the system of tolls has not yet been abolished), or whether he has been turned off it as a child of fourteen and has only found his way back again by some bridle path which it has taken him ten years to thread, he is no longer a man under authority. At least his authorities are of his own deliberate choosing. It lies primarily with him to decide what shall be the main subject of his study, in what atmosphere and with what intention he will pursue it, and to whose leadership he will submit himself. This is not " self-determination " running riot. It does not dispose of the disciplinary element in education. It need not involve any departure from scientific method, or

any passing by of the knowledge and wisdom accumulated at the universities or elsewhere by the honest work of students for centuries past. It merely signifies that the adult is as fully responsible a person in this as in any other sphere. The educational principles which are now coming to be accepted as sound and fruitful in schools and colleges, but of which the immaturity and inexperience of the pupils (as human beings and not merely as students) require some modification in practice there, come of necessity into full operation here. The student's own notions of what education is, why it should be sought, how it may best be pursued and used, become factors of positive importance. The child and the adolescent will often have few if any preconceptions in these respects. They ought to acquire very clear ideas on the subject in due time. But if they do, these will more probably come indirectly, and as a result of their experience of education, than through direct inculcation. Adult students, on the other hand, begin with some views about education, though these may lie anywhere on the line between the completely nebulous and the aggressively dogmatic. It is for the educational movements to which such students attach themselves to bring true ideals in education to the fore and keep them there, not as formulated and cast-iron creeds, but as a record of common experience and a challenge to corporate adventure. Can it be doubted that any prospective student will welcome rather than resent the demand for wholeness ? Such a demand cannot be consistent with anything but due emphasis upon the place of spiritual values.

The reaction of circumstances upon aim and motive is another very influential factor in determining the attitude of the adult student to his own further education and that of his fellow-citizens. It supplies an additional reason for setting clearly before his mind at the outset this question of the real connection between spiritual values and true education. He is not always aware of this reaction. He often has experienced no stimulus to the analysis of aims and motives, and he may have a superficial or one-sided idea of

the significance of the very constraints which he recognises and which act so powerfully upon him. At some of the effects flowing from this cause we shall have occasion to look more closely. For the present we need do no more than remind ourselves of their existence. "Materialist," "propagandist," and similar words are easily and frequently hurled as terms of abuse at certain forms of educational effort whose genesis is little understood by their critics. In other cases words and phrases, not usually connected with the idea of education, but suggesting group bias or party-politics, may be adopted as slogans by students of high purpose and unquestionable ability, and the fact is taken by the unfriendly as proof that their aim is not educational at all. Yet another illustration may be drawn from the fact that, among those who would claim to be all that is orthodox in matters pertaining to adult education, there are many who refuse to believe that there can be any objective educational grounds for studying, let us say, the psychology or the philosophy of religion, important as such studies might be subjectively and in confirmation or defence of an accepted faith. Again, therefore, it becomes evident that we must demand explicit recognition of the truth that education, to be education at all, must neglect nothing that belongs to personality, and therefore cannot deny the place of spiritual values in human experience, and consequently in all studies which deal faithfully with our world and our relationship to it.[1]

Perhaps one of the chief reasons for insisting that adult education (like all other stages of education) is a spiritual activity and is concerned ultimately with spiritual values is

[1] "A liberal education is based on studies, but in an atmosphere rather than a curriculum. It is an education through discipline for liberty. It opens windows in the mind. . . . Its highest purpose is to give us insight into reality and to give us the power of distinguishing between what is true and half true or false. Central in it is the element of character. . . . But one fundamental part of it is weakly represented in many modern courses of discipline and study. This is the training of the habit of worship and the sense of awe. For some minds and under some teachers, this is given by the study of

that adult students often have so much to correct or to overtake when they get back on to the highway. This is indeed the case with many whose feet have never left it. For schools and colleges are not all imbued with the ideal of their function that Sanderson held. Intellectualism may drive out the very humanism whose name it takes in vain. Vocational training may lose sight of the end in its concentration upon the means. Moreover, with the sincerest desire to make either school or classroom the microcosm of the world without, there must almost inevitably be lacking that experience of the rough-and-tumble of life which is needed as an aid to a true interpretation not only of human but also of universal values. Only the adult student can come to his task equipped with this sort of practical wisdom. Fortunate is he if he can bring also the kind of knowledge, both of facts and of principles, which school and college can give. But the majority of adult students lack all that mental furniture and spiritual enrichment which may be acquired in the right sort of school and college between the passing of boyhood and the arrival of mature manhood. School lies a very long way behind, and often enough the treasure carried into life from those early days is pitiably meagre. The sense of perspective has never been gained; the intellectual and spiritual land of far distances has never been imagined, still less entered; problems of the immediate environment, of the mere here and now, appear to be the only ones worth attention. Education as a weapon, or as an elevated form of recreation, appeals readily to many a man who has never conceived it as integral to life itself. The revelation of spiritual values and the adjustment of personal and social life to them are not the supreme gains

science, by music, by painting, and by the love of nature. But religion is the supreme channel through which this, the deepest influence of a liberal education, comes to heart or mind, and gives the divine vision. This is what William Blake meant by saying that true education lies in the cultivation of the imagination." Sir Michael Sadler, at Oxfordshire Education Committee's Conference for Teachers, *Times Educational Supplement*, January 12, 1924. Cf. quotation from West Riding Education Committee, vol. ii. c. iv. *infra*.

that the ordinary man expects from his participation in educational activities, if he gives any thought to them at all. Yet, as we have seen, if he does not attain to these there is little likelihood of his achieving even the more obvious satisfactions that attracted him to his pursuit. For he will find that neither effective action in his world nor true enjoyment of it is possible apart from some understanding of the real values that inhere in it. In another connection Professor Campagnac reminds us that certain types of education may result in the achievement of what was sought, but that "neither is followed with advantage if a student arrives at his goal less of a man than he might have been." [1] But this may be his undeserved fate if education is represented to him as anything less, however elementary it may be or whatever its starting point, than an endeavour to make contact with ultimate reality.

To sum up the conclusions that we have reached in this chapter, all true education is concerned with the whole man in all his relationships. Psychologically it seeks the full development of personality—that self which is a perpetual blending of thought, will and emotion—and of personality as essentially social. Philosophically, the subject of education is that human spirit which escapes the psychologist as it escapes the biologist or the physiologist, but which responds to a world and a universe ultimately personal and spiritual in such wise that interpenetration is not only a possibility but a constant fact of experience. Education thus has a spiritual basis, and no form of it persists except by reason of spiritual values which it reveals and emphasises, whatever its conscious purpose, its chosen methods, or its distinctive subject-matter. That this truth should be made explicit, as the fact is implicit in every educational activity which has life in it at all, is of great importance at every stage of education, but becomes supremely important in the education of adults.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 14.

III

THE RELATIONSHIP OF ADULT EDUCATION TO RELIGION

For a great many enthusiasts in the cause of adult education the subject of this chapter does not arise. They are not interested in religion, and would not agree that it has any prescriptive right to consideration, in the same way as economic, social, scientific, or even aesthetic studies would at once be admitted to have, when education is under discussion.

Others carefully exclude it from any general view of adult education. Whether themselves religious or not, they regard everything pertaining to religion as a matter of private and personal concern. Like manners in the old dame-school religion is an "extra," so far as it is a subject of study. As a force in education it belongs, in their judgment, to the sphere of acute controversy; mindful of the often petty and thoroughly disastrous conflicts over the schools for generations past, they wish to keep adult education clear of all such thorny questions.[1]

From another point of view a large number of people look upon religion as sufficient in itself to create the kind of men and women and to bring about the order of society demanded by their ideal. Education in the broad sense appears to them a secondary affair. Instruction in the tenets of religion they of course hold to be essential. But the necessary

[1] We may remark, in passing, that the problem in connection with adult classes is quite different from that raised by "religion in the schools." The distinction hinges upon the comparative freedom, independence, and maturity of the adult student. This point is more fully treated in vol. ii. c. iv.

application of these can be made, it is supposed, by virtue of loyalty to principle and exercise of ordinary common sense. From such a standpoint the study of such subjects as usually occupy the attention of adult classes must needs appear more or less of a luxury. These, say our ultra-orthodox friends, have their uses in a subsidiary way, but are not to be accounted necessary for the fuller understanding or the more effective application of religion ; they make no original contribution to the religious life.

As against all these mutually contradictory types of opinion it is the purpose of this chapter to show that the relationship between adult education and religion is not only close, but organic. It might be possible to work out such a thesis merely in the interests of intellectual harmony or of a neat system of organisation, but it would not be worth while. Either the relationship follows directly from the nature of personality, the meaning of spiritual values, and the necessities intrinsic to the educational process, or it is indeed negligible. But if it does so follow, then, obviously, it is at our peril, as men and women and as educationists, as individuals and as a community, that we neglect it. Unless we take full account of it we fail in simple honesty, and we allow our prejudices to impoverish ourselves and society at all points. In any event we can have no claim to a decided opinion in either direction until we have examined the matter with candour and thoroughness.

It may be well to remind ourselves that the words "spiritual" and "religious," intimately connected as they may be, are by no means interchangeable. Forgetfulness of this has led to many of the internecine disputes about religion and education to which we have referred. The most casual glance at any history of religions will at once show that not all forms of religion are predominantly spiritual in character.[1] This is clear with regard to many of

[1] Cf. *e.g.* A. Menzies, *History of Religion* (1895) ; J. Estlin Carpenter, *Comparative Religion*, n.d. ; F. B. Jevons, *Comparative Religion* (1908) ; J. Hope Moulton, *Religions and Religion* (1913) ; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (one vol. edn. 1923) ; and, for the results of observation and research respecting the religions of the world as

the very primitive rites and superstitions. But even the great religions of the world, the ethnic faiths, can scarcely be regarded in some aspects of their development as essentially and recognisably spiritual. It is true that a few extravagantly mystical interpreters profess to find spiritual elements there. Objectively considered, however, these religions have at certain epochs proved less than spiritual (if we use the adjective in its deepest and most comprehensive sense), either in their main trend or in some of the earlier and all of the corrupted modes in which they have been practised. Ethical, metaphysical, emotional, they may have been, and so far they may have given partial and imperfect expression to the best in men. Completely spiritual in their interpretation of human life and of the universe they were not. Any brief classification would be misleading, and to make the necessary detailed qualifications would carry us too far from our main topic. We may specify Stoicism, Mithraism, and Taoism, Confucianism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Mohammedanism, in the confidence that any careful study of these will substantiate the general but carefully guarded statement above made.[1] But we may with less fear of misunderstanding cite Christianity itself, and the Hebraism and Hellenism which prepared the way for it. In the Old Testament there are abundant proofs that Hebraism was often superstitious, material, and legal. The Wisdom books of the Old Testament Apocrypha, for all the beauty and spirituality manifest in them here and

they are to-day, *The Missionary Message*, being Vol. 4 of the Report of the Edinburgh Conference of 1910, edited by D. S. Cairns. For a purely psychological approach, cf. S. A. Cook, *The Foundations of Religion* (n.d.). Cf. also Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy* (Eng. trans. of *Das Heilige*: 1924), pp. 121-139.

[1] Cf. *e.g.* W. E. Soothill, *The Three Religions of China* (1913); J. N. Farquhar, *The Crown of Hinduism* (1913) and *A Primer of Hinduism* (1911); K. J. Saunders, *Buddhist Ideals* (1911); and Rhys Davids, *Buddhism* (n.d.); D. S. Margoliouth, *Mohammedanism* (n.d.); and Ameer Ali, *Islam* (1906). See also T. R. Glover, *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire* (1909) and *Progress in Religion to the Christian Era* (1922).

there, contain many long passages marked by formalism and a narrow, vindictive type of nationalism. The most loyal and enthusiastic Christian can but avow and deplore the unspirituality that has marked many phases of thought and conduct in the Church, from the time when St. Paul wrote his revealing letters until now.

On the other hand, it is equally indisputable that a spiritual attitude towards life and the universe does not necessarily imply possession of definite religious faith, acceptance of religious doctrine, or adoption of religious practice. The Buddha taught an impersonal mysticism as leading to an absorption of the Self into the All in such a way that there could no longer be any real distinction between being and not-being; it was a refinement even upon pantheism; only with the much later rise of the *Bhodisattvas* and the growth of cults like that of Amida did Buddhism become in any ordinary sense a religion.[1] Dr. Glover's interpretation of Plato,[2] like many others, creates the impression that Plato was definitely and consciously a religious man. Beyond all question, spiritual values were supreme in his thought; from the first Greek Fathers of the Church to our own Dean Inge, the Christian Platonist scarcely knows where, in his intellectual construction of his faith, his Platonism ends and his Christianity begins.[3] But, for all that, Plato was rather a spiritual philosopher than a conscious participant in a religion or a deliberate teacher of

[1] But cf. Professor R. Otto's Exposition of Buddhism and Islam, *op. cit.* pp. 39, 94, 170.

[2] See *Progress of Religion*, c. 8, pp. 170-190.

[3] Cf. W. R. Inge, in *Outspoken Essays*, Second Series (1923), p. 45: "So far I have kept almost entirely to that philosophy of religion which is common to Platonism and Christianity. I make no apology for thus emphasizing the debt of the Christian Church to its 'old loving nurse, the Platonick philosophy.' That precious link with the maturest wisdom of antiquity can never be broken without tearing Christianity itself to pieces." Also his Roscoe Lecture on "The Platonic Tradition in English Religion" at Liverpool, as reported in *The Times*, April 1, 1924.

Cf. W. Temple: *Plato and Christianity* (1916).

one.[1] Much the same might be said of Seneca, save that his conceptions owed more to the influence of ethical enthusiasm than to that of philosophic mysticism. If we seek confirmation of our assertion among outstanding figures of our own time a striking example may be adduced in the comparison of Lord Morley with Lord Acton. Morley's religious agnosticism co-existed with as profoundly spiritual an approach to the analysis and description of human experience as that made by Acton, the consistent Roman Catholic.

The spiritual and the religious, then, cannot merely be equated, despite the way in which they are so often assumed, openly or covertly, and more particularly from the side of religion, to be for all practical purposes identical. The spiritual is, in fact, a wider category than the religious, just as the religious does not fall wholly within the spiritual. As to which is the higher, opinions will be found to vary ; the position taken in this book is that the religious is the higher, for reasons to be stated later. But that position rests upon an acknowledged limitation of the term religion, in the present connection, to spiritual religion, and in that specific sense the word will be used throughout these pages. " The true religion for each of us is the most spiritual view of reality that we are able to realise and live by," says Dean Inge.[2] Lord Haldane, after quoting the words of Jesus beginning " God is a Spirit," says : " In religion, expressed

[1] Cf. Prof. C. C. J. Webb's lectures on " The Natural Theology of Plato " in *Studies in the History of Natural Theology* (1915), pp. 84-136.

[2] *Outspoken Essays*, Second Series, 1923, p. 55. Cf. J. Middleton Murry on " Literature and Religion : " Religion is the deepest and most necessary motion of the free human soul ; as it were, a reflection in the consciousness of the inevitable adjustment to the primary law of life." Mr. Murry argues that it is therefore " by nature not to be confined to one medium of expression," and shows that it may now be found most surely within the Church and now without—in science, literature, and other realms—wherever freedom is most complete : " For the law of religious discovery is that man must apprehend the universe of his fullest knowledge, within and without, as an organic unity." *The Necessity of Art* (1924), pp. 163-165.

in language such as this, we have a certain completion suggested for our human experience without which it would be one-sided and essentially defective. Reality is brought before us in a further aspect, an aspect which is offered to us as possible through the acceptance of a higher standpoint, to be attained, it may be, not reflectively, but by a voluntary submission of the will. To this we feel ourselves moved emotionally, rather than as the result of any process of logical reasoning. It is by what may be called constant practice in some form of the presence of what is highest, in purpose and in level, that we seem best able to keep this emotion alive, and our experience of life appears to require such practice in some form if it is to obtain for itself the fullest fruition."[1] This begs no question, disregards no facts, and denies no scientific application of the evolutionary theory. The fullest cognisance is taken of the way in which

[1] *The Reign of Relativity* (1921), p. 393. Mr. W. Trotter, in his *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*, insists perpetually that psychology must be treated from a biological and "objective" standpoint. It is, therefore, all the more striking that as a biologist he should regard religion as evidence of a dependence, characteristic of the member of the herd, which "betrays itself in the deepest recesses of personality as a sense of incompleteness which compels the individual to reach out towards some larger existence than his own. . . . Religious feeling is therefore a character inherent in the very structure of the human mind, and is the expression of a need which must be recognised by the biologist as neither superficial or transitory." He takes the view that those philosophers and men of science who, "impelled perhaps by a desire to close the circle of a materialistic conception of the universe," tend to belittle these phenomena merely provoke a reaction against scientific enquiry, and at the same time rob their own systems of any claim to universality. "It is therefore necessary to lay down, with the strongest emphasis, the proposition that the religious needs and feelings of man are a direct and necessary manifestation of the inheritance of instinct with which he was born, and therefore deserve consideration as respectful and observation as minute as any other biological phenomenon." (Sixth impression, 1921), pp. 113-114. "Religion," says Prof. J. B. Pratt, "is essentially a human thing, a biological product and instrument . . . to be understood better by observing its functions than by analyzing any of its particular doctrines": *The Religious Consciousness* (1923), p. 6. Cf. Julian Huxley, *op. cit.* p. 208.

religious thought and practice have passed from the dim fears and simple joys of the primitive peoples to the fullest expression of Christianity recognisable to-day as true to the historical type presented in the Gospels. There is no need to gloss over or to attempt to explain away the aberrations, excesses, and degradations that religion has suffered from time to time. But if we are to compare and relate the spiritual and the religious, we cannot do so in any accurate and useful way so long as we treat either as fixed in a bygone period. We must take the most fully developed instances that we can find of each. Thus alone shall we be true to that scientific spirit which requires us to judge any evolutionary process as a whole rather than to interpret its outcome in terms of its mere beginnings.[1]

In our endeavour to arrive at a satisfactory conception of spiritual values, we could not escape the conclusion that these must be personal and social, and must hold good for that entire universe of which we are part, and which we know only through some form or other of human personal experience. Religion is conscious inter-relation between human personality and the infinitely personal centre and soul of the universe. The religious experience of individual persons or groups of persons is on the one hand self-authenticated ; on the other it is confirmed by the similar experience to which other individuals and groups bear their independent witness.[2]

[1] Cf. Prof. Clement Webb's criticism of Durkheim and Lévy Bruhl in *Group Theories of Religion and the Religion of the Individual* (1916), especially p. 44 ; also W. B. Selbie, *The Psychology of Religion* (1924), p. 13.

[2] " The primary evidence for the truth of religion is religious experience, which in persons of religious genius—those whom the Church calls saints and prophets—includes a clear perception of an eternal world of truth, beauty, and goodness, surrounding us and penetrating us at every point." W. R. Inge, *Outspoken Essays* (1919), p. 231. " Religion is always the experience of a direct personal relation to the highest." C. C. J. Webb, *Divine Personality and Human Life*, p. 190. For the importance now attached by philosophy to experience cf. John Dewey, *Reconstruction in Philosophy* (1921), ch. iv. pp. 77-102 : " Now, old experience is used to suggest aims and methods for developing a new and improved

Of course the question whether, after all, this experience is not a matter of traditional superstition or of unperceived auto-suggestion must be fairly met and adequately answered. It will be found that this can be done very effectively, though the element of faith cannot be eliminated.[1] Such faith, however, is neither contradictory of reason nor in conflict with science (or knowledge, if the word be preferred as less abstract).[2] Faith is acceptance of a hypothesis about reality which we proceed to test by experiment; modification of the original hypothesis in accordance with the results of our experiment is not rejection of it, but an addition to knowledge, an advance in science, upon the consequently firmer basis of which further experiment can be made with a view to more searching test of our clarified hypothesis. So far as religion is concerned, it may fairly be said that nothing essential to a veracious and spiritual Christianity has failed to emerge with added reliability from the process. "Belief in the existence of God and a spiritual world," says Dr. W. B. Selbie, "can be at best but a working hypothesis, but it is an hypothesis which meets the facts of

experience. Consequently experience becomes in so far constructively self-regulative," p. 94. Cf. footnotes to pp. 72-3 *infra*. Cf. W. Temple, *Christus Veritas*, pp. 38-39.

[1] See H. Balmforth, *Is Christian Experience an Illusion? An Essay in the Philosophy of Religion* (1923), and D. S. Cairns, *The Reasonableness of the Christian Faith* (1918). Professor Silvanus Thompson says: "There is no logic in all the schools which can prove to our finite intelligence that anything is absolutely certain. We take past experience as a guide to the present and to the future, as the result of the experience of mankind (including ourselves) that like causes produce like effects," and he quotes Huxley (*Essays on Possibilities and Impossibilities*), who calls this belief in causal sequence "an act of faith." *The Quest for Truth* (1917), p. 94.

[2] "Religion is the recognition of the deeper truths of Nature. . . . He who best trusts his religion will least resent its being studied with the scalpel, test-tube, and microscope of scientific precision. It is, I believe, by the scientific method that we shall serve best the philosophic understanding of the religious sense." Greville Macdonald, *The Religious Sense in its Scientific Aspect* (second edition, 1904) pp. 100, 215.

the case and to man's intelligence makes sense of the universe better than any other." [1] But it should also be observed that no merely second-hand or partial evidence will prove convincing. No man is qualified to say yea or nay to a religion which makes the claim of universality until he has exerted his whole personality in the attempt to test it under a sufficient variety of circumstances and in co-operation with other men.[2]

Religion at its best may thus be described as spirituality coming to fullest consciousness in man, and the religious as being therefore a higher category than the spiritual, if a more restricted one. "At every stage of its long and devious history," says Professor Rufus Jones, "religion has been some sort of life-adjustment to realities which were felt to be of supreme importance either to the individual or to the race, and it becomes thus possible for the scientific observer to note a developmental process and to discover a principle which links it in with a universal scheme of evolution."

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 28. Cf. also his treatment of the psychology of belief, *op. cit.* pp. 113-119.

[2] Cf. F. W. R. Inge, *Outspoken Essays*, Second Series, p. 54. "Faith is an affirmation of the individual personality; the will and the affections are engaged in it as well as the intellect," and again, p. 16, "The organ by which we know God is our whole personality, unified under the primacy of the highest part of it"; also his *Faith and its Psychology* (1909) and *Personal Religion and the Life of Devotion* (1924), ch. iii. pp. 41-50. Cf. also D. S. Cairns, *op. cit.* p. 181: "Men cannot solve that problem of certainty, with the statement of which this discussion opened, solely by means of the intellect. They must verify their intuitions by a decision and habit of the will. Faith, in fact, is an act of the whole nature, it is the whole man, intellect, affections, imagination, conscience, and will, seeking the whole truth, and throwing everything into the hazard"; and again, p. 53: "Science, moreover, is primarily concerned with fragments of the mighty whole of things, but faith is always concerned primarily with the universal." Dr. Cairns draws an interesting parallel for the general "theory of discovery" from the intuition of scientists leading to experimental verification, giving, among other instances, that of Lord Kelvin, who confessed that he had never reasoned his way quite up to any one of his great discoveries: pp. 79-82.

But that developmental process has issued in "what has come to be the deepest note of present-day Christianity, the appreciation of personality as the highest thing in earth or heaven, and the initiation of a movement to find the vital sources and resources for the inner kindling of the spirit, and for raising the whole personal life to higher functions and to higher powers."[1] It is essentially social and universal. It is life in a society of persons, human and more-than-human.[2] "It is of the very essence of religion," remarks Professor C. C. J. Webb, "that it involves a consciousness of ourselves in relation to that which is at the heart or (if you prefer the metaphor) at the back of everything. And for this reason it is only with the whole personality, without abstracting from what belongs to us as members of a nation or a church or other social organism, that we can enjoy the experience which we call religion." He speaks again of "Religion and its essentially social character, as belonging to the whole personality with all its social relations."[3] Further than this, its values are universal and absolute. It is an experience of personal correspondence, on the spiritual plane, with society and the universe, but this experience is reached through familiar media recognised as inseparable from what every man, guileless as he may be of philosophy or mysticism, knows himself to be. It cannot be dissociated from the values by which men always and everywhere consciously live.[4] Indeed, as Dr. Selbie observes, "Belief is often a matter of values as well as of fact, and emotional conditions cannot

[1] *Spiritual Reformers of the 16th and 17th Centuries* (1914), pp. xvi, xlix.

[2] Cf. G. Galloway, *Religion and Modern Thought* (1922), pp. 228 ff. E. Waterhouse, *The Philosophy of Religious Experience* (1923), pp. 11 ff.

[3] Lecture on "Theology as the Science of Religious Experience" in *A Century of Anglican Theology* (1923), pp. 113-114.

[4] Prof. J. S. Mackenzie says that "religion, in its most fully developed form, seems to mean devotion to what is regarded as having supreme value or worth." Essay in *British Contemporary Philosophy*, p. 245.

therefore be excluded. In the long run, however, they have all to be brought to the bar of logical determination." [1] Dr. Bernard Bosanquet, the profundity of whose philosophical writings is perhaps surpassed in our own time and country only by those of Dr. F. H. Bradley, left us a tiny little volume, written with an exquisite simplicity and directness, on *What Religion Is*. "We are spirits," he says, "and our life is one with that of the Spirit which is the whole and the good." But he proceeds to utter a warning: "We must be on our guard against fining down and explaining away our unity with the eternal in the very act, as we think too hastily, of insisting on it. We must not let go our main grasp of the values which, wherever brought into being in a world, so far make heaven of that place and time, and which all religion teaches us to cherish here and now as everywhere and always—love, beauty, truth. In these our unity is solid and plain—our unity with God and with the whole of being. We must not do anything to throw these into the background, and place our unity in remote events." [2]

This brings us back by the path of religion, as we came by way of philosophy and the theory of education, to the question of values. But for religion these same values, universally recognised as supreme, are identical with Reality. No recent writer has given clearer expression to this than Dean Inge in his "Confessio Fidei," and if we quote one or two typical phrases from his masterly essay,

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 114.

[2] *Op. cit.* (1920), pp. 25, 28, chap. on "Unity with God. Man and Nature." Prof. C. C. J. Webb has shown that faith in a personal God is not anthropomorphism in theology, since a thoroughgoing anthropomorphism results in a God capable neither of sympathising with nor attracting the devotion of his worshippers. Prof. Webb also shows that such a faith depends upon the realisation of a reciprocal relationship between a man and God, and that the uniquely satisfactory attainment of personal religion in Christianity is due to the fact that the Christian Church has worshipped a historical person possessing moral and spiritual supremacy; the historical element exercises a necessary control upon imagination, and "the conviction of real objective individuality" has prevented pantheistic mysticism. Cf. *God and Personality* (1919), pp. 79-83.

based as it is upon finished scholarship and aglow with personal conviction, we do so because they represent a prevailing movement of thought, and not because they express an exceptional point of view. "Religion," he affirms, "is the faith that gives substance to values, and philosophy aims at giving them their proper place in a harmonious scheme of existence. It is only by the path of value that we reach God at all. God is, as has been said, the *Valor valorum*, the value of values, the supreme value. . . . The conflict of religion is not with science, but with the materialistic philosophy built upon science, a philosophy which takes an abstract field of enquiry for the whole of reality, and ignores those spiritual values which are just as much part of our knowledge as the purely quantitative aspects of reality with which the natural sciences are concerned. . . .[1] There are no other absolute values besides Goodness, Beauty, and Truth. . . . True faith is belief in the reality of absolute values. . . . It is because we know what Truth, Beauty, and Goodness mean that we have our part in the eternal life of God, whose revealed attributes they are. . . . And I repeat that these values stand in their own right, and cannot be made the means to anything else. This has been felt at all times by the best men and women."[2]

The whole question is one of the trustworthiness of our

[1] Cf. "The assumption is that science gives us facts without values, and religion values without facts. Science tells us what is true, philosophy and religion spread over the cheerless scene the light that never was on sea or land." *Op. cit.* p. 3. Cf. Mr. E. Salter Davies, Director of Education for Kent: "Whatever are our philosophical opinions, whether we are idealists or realists, these four concepts—regarded not as abstractions, but as concrete presentations of reality under the various aspects—appear to give the educationist the four supreme values upon which he can base his system of education—beauty, truth, usefulness and goodness—to be realised in the life of the individual who is at once, potentially, artist, philosopher, worker, and saint." *As to the General Ends at which Education should aim* (1922). Reprinted (1924) under the title *The Aim of Education*, p. 21.

[2] *Outspoken Essays*, Second Series (1922), pp. 26, 38, 31, 35. Cf. also "The attributes of reality, in our world of values, are Goodness, Truth, and Beauty. And we assert that we have as good reason to

experience. For this we have the general witness of mankind at large. We must needs go on living as if our values correspond with reality. When we discover that they are the values which not only have made human life possible throughout the ages, but have invariably made life more

claim objective reality for these ideas as for anything in the world revealed to our senses. . . . A value-judgment which is not also a judgment of existence is in the air ; it is the baseless fabric of a vision. Existence itself is a value, and an ingredient in every valuation ; that which has no existence has no value. And, on the other side, it is a delusion to suppose that any science can dispense with valuation. Even mathematics admits that there is a right and a wrong way of solving a problem, though by confining itself to quantitative measurements it can assert no more than a hypothetical reality for its world. It is quite certain that we can think of no existing world without valuation." *Outspoken Essays* (1919), pp. 270-271. See also his *Faith and its Psychology*, pp. 50, etc. Cf. the chapter on " The Doctrine of Values," by Percy Dearmer, in *The Necessity of Art* (1924). Cf. " If we admit that such feeling is at the basis of religion, we have to go on to say that, before religion is recognisable as such, feeling must have passed into a definite valuation of life involving intelligence and will. . . . If we take religion as the faith that the ultimate meaning of the universe is spiritual, expressible in terms of absolute truth, beauty, and goodness, formulated possibly in belief in the being of God, then modern science neither can nor will deny the right of this faith to be and to express itself, and modern philosophy is, on the whole, sympathetic towards this same faith and, in some respects, provides it with all the external justification it can expect or receive " : S. A. Mellor, *Religion as Affected by Modern Science and Philosophy* (1914), pp. 13, 201-202. As Dom Cuthbert Butler reminds us, Augustine identified Truth " and the kindred great Abstracts [Wisdom, Life, Beatitude, Goodness, Beauty, Light] with God." *Western Mysticism* (1922), p. 54. Prof. Mackenzie shows that these valuations, arising in the seventh century B.C., were " transvalued " by Christianity : " That religion," he says, " is concerned with absolute values is obvious," and he goes on to suggest that all highly developed religions are concerned with *worth*, which " generates value," and that the Supreme Value generated by Supreme Worth is Beauty, which covers " every mode of apprehended perfection,' including Truth and Goodness. *Ultimate Values*, pp. 172, 184, 141, etc. Dr. Temple, while regarding Truth, Beauty, and Goodness as absolute values, gives priority to Goodness " because it is the distinctively human type of value, and we are human." *Christus Veritas*, p. 31.

worth living as they have been given fuller and wider allegiance, we may well be confident that they "indicate the nature of the real." "There is nothing more real," says Dr. Bradley, "than what comes in religion. To compare facts such as these with what is given to us in outward existence, would be to trifle with the subject. The man who demands a reality more solid than that of the religious consciousness, seeks he knows not what." [1] It is when we find that the values we have accepted, or the interpretation that we have given to them, set us at cross-purposes with our world, and bring us neither vision nor power for remedial action, that we have good reason for scepticism as to their accordance with the ultimate principle of existence.[2] Religion does not project its subjective values upon the infinite and call the result God. "The meaning of religion is that the character of reality affords a ground for those ultimate values which relate to our ultimate well-being," as Professor Eric Waterhouse has put it,[3] following Dr.

[1] *Appearance and Reality*, p. 449. Professor Pratt says of mystical experience: "This experience is one of the most solid bits of concrete fact that ever comes into human life," and again, "Religion is not a theory about reality; it *is* a reality." *The Religious Consciousness* (1923), pp. 7, 18.

[2] For an admirably frank and clear discussion of the validity of experience as a ground of religious conviction, see R. H. Thouless, *An Introduction to the Psychology of Religion* (1923), pp. 266-282. Dr. Thouless' final conclusion rests on the argument of converging lines of evidence: "If the God revealed by religious experience is found to be, in fact, the God required by the moral consciousness, and to be the God required to explain the world as we find it, and to be the God revealed in historical Christianity, then the probability that each of these largely independent lines of approach to God is based on error becomes small. The probability that the concordant result of all four expresses some real insight into objective reality becomes proportionately great" (p. 282). It would appear to be a question of cumulative values. But Dr. Selbie warns us that "Experience no doubt supplies the data, but the data are offered to mind or intelligence and from its verdict there is no appeal." *Op. cit.* pp. 43, 62, 118.

[3] *The Philosophy of Religious Experience* (1923), pp. 187, 195. This is the position so fully established by Prof. A. S. Pringle

Bosanquet, whose words he quotes, " We are speaking of the consciousness inherent in the finite-infinite being, so far as his full nature affirms itself, that he is one with something that cannot be shaken or destroyed, and the value of which is the source and standard of value." [1]

Thus it is that we base our belief in the natural and complete inter-relationship of adult education and religion upon psychological and philosophical grounds. Unless it is possible in this way to establish our position by a logical and scientific process of thought there is very little hope of doing more by other means than confirming pre-existent prejudices for or against such a view. The appeal to sentiment, to tradition, to intuitive conviction, or even to prudential morality, will fail, as it always has done. Only

Pattison in *The Idea of God in the Light of Recent Philosophy.* Cf. also Lord Balfour's argument in *Theism and Humanism* (1915): " If we would maintain the value of our highest beliefs and emotions, we must find for them a congruous origin . . . and a lofty form of Theism becomes, as I think, inevitable." pp. 249-250.

[1] *Value and Destiny of the Individual*, p. 270, quoted Waterhouse, *op. cit.* p. 9. Cf. Prof. J. B. Baillie, who observes: " In the course of experience we find that the individual does not attain a consciousness of his individuality all at once, or a consciousness of his world all at once. It consists in a series of experiences, connected in that they fall within the life of a single individual, but distinct in that each proceeds along its own lines and subject to its own conditions. The nearest approach to a consciousness of ' all reality ' is found in religious experience. But even then we do not enter into conscious relation with every reality in the strict sense of the term, but with ' reality as a whole.' " This series of experiences yields us our scale of values, says Professor Baillie, because we find that one more than another affords us a sense of self-fulfilment. But " it seems clear not only that the fulfilment of individuality will be the discovery of our own complete reality, but that the complete reality of our world will be disclosed at the same time. For in the result, as in the beginning, the one is only possible in relation to and through the other. The form which the result must take is that of religious experience. For in his religious experience at its best, the individual is aware of himself as securely established beyond the reach of mutability. He regards himself as eternal and as at one with the eternal." Essay, *Contemporary British Philosophy*, pp. 33, 47-48.

as we see clearly what essential religion is and what essential education is, how both are rooted in the nature of personality and must be concerned with nothing short of the universal, and how each accords supremacy to spiritual values immanent in as well as transcending all forms of human experience and activity, can we reach any conclusive theory as to their relationship.

For lack of thoroughgoing investigation on such lines as these real progress towards constructive action has been impossible. There have been heated controversies and feeble concordats, proselytism and indifference, halting experiments and embarrassing failures. Meantime both education and religion have suffered. The one thing needful for the sake of adult education is not that it should be kept out of these controversies nor that it should be dragged into them, but that it should be lifted above them by a positive understanding and application of the truth. Nothing is more enervating than playing for safety. Sir Stanley Leathes wrote very finely that "the spiritual side of education is difficult beyond all others. It aims at faith rather than dogma, at aspirations rather than a code, at an atmosphere rather than positive instruction. It has its social aspect which should be seen in the common life of a school; but, if individuality must be studied in every part of education, here it must be approached not only with urgency but with reverence." At the end of the same chapter which contains that paragraph appears another: "Education without religion seems to me impossible; the religion of all sensible men, the religion that sensible men do not gratuitously define. In the present state of public opinion education with religion seems equally impossible. This is a practical question, and falls to the province of responsible and practical men to solve. It is also one of those practical questions which I am not called upon to handle. I doubt if such problems can be settled on paper." [1] He was right in both paragraphs, and his official position debarred him from participating in controversy. But the descent from the

[1] *What is Education?* (1913), pp. 10-11, 32.

first position to the second is, unfortunately, characteristic of most of us, and we are not similarly limited by conditions.[1] To be satisfied with such a situation, to make no attempt to improve upon it, is sheer pusillanimity such as neither adult education nor religion can afford to permit itself. It would be absurd to think that the suggestions made in the present chapter constitute a solution of the problem. But they are offered in the belief that if other and more competent writers would examine and pursue them a complete and scientific solution might be found.

One thing is certain ; it is not sufficient to approach the matter from the psychological and philosophical standpoints alone. If theoretically education and religion have each to deal with the whole man in relation to the whole universe, very practical corollaries follow. It is necessary, therefore, to carry a little further our enquiry into the implications of this " wholeness." Again, in speaking of " spiritual values," we do but use a comfortably vague phrase unless we indicate ways in which those values find expression through the concrete, not to say the commonplace, of all that makes up the average man's life.

Religion, Professor J. B. Pratt reminds us, " is not to be confined to any one of the three traditional departments of the mind—' knowing, feeling, and willing '—but involves factors belonging to each of them." [2] Here the emphasis is

[1] In particular we are concerned with the education of adults, whereas Sir Stanley Leathes was dealing with the far more difficult problem of the schools.

[2] *The Religious Consciousness*, p. 3. Professor Pratt's work will undoubtedly take a distinguished place in the succession to which William James' *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1904) and E. D. Starbuck's *The Psychology of Religion* (1901) gave so notable a beginning. He defines religion as " the serious and social attitude of individuals or communities towards the power or powers which they conceive as having ultimate control over their interests and destinies " (p. 2). Two paragraphs which follow the words quoted in the text above should perhaps be quoted here as showing a slight difference in the interpretation of the personal element from that propounded in our Chapters I.-II. " The advantages of defining religion as an attitude are now, I think, sufficiently manifest. It

upon the indivisible unity of the self in all its experiences and activities. From a rather different angle of approach Dr. Robert Thouless lays stress upon the inclusiveness of religion because, again, it is an expression of the whole personality, in phases which may individually have a distinctiveness and prominence of their own in particular sets of circumstances, but which are none the less invariably counterparts of each other. "Our definition of religion will, therefore, include in association a mode of behaviour, a system of intellectual beliefs, and a system of feelings." [1]

shows that religion is not a matter of any one 'department' of the psychic life but involves the whole man. It includes what there was of truth in the historical attempts to identify religion with feeling, belief or will. And it draws attention to the fact that religion is immediately subjective, thus differing from science (which emphasizes 'content' rather than 'attitude'); and yet it points to the other fact also that religion involves and presupposes the acceptance of the objective. Religion is the attitude of a self towards an object in which the self believes.

"I have qualified the word 'attitude' in my definition by the adjective 'social' with considerable misgiving, for I do not wish to suggest that religion must have a *personal* object. I have used the word to indicate that the religious attitude toward the Determiner of Destiny must not be 'mechanical' (as, according to Mr. Watson, the scientific attitude is), nor coldly intellectual. It must have some faint touch of that social quality which we feel in our relations towards anything that can make response to us. It is only in this incipient way that the religious attitude need be social." This seems much too hesitant a way of describing a Universe that admittedly "makes response" to us, and also the position taken by Dr. Pratt appears to take insufficient account of human society as a necessary correlate of all human experience, but he is rightly anxious to make his definition wide enough to include religions (*e.g.* Buddhism), which do not involve the conception of a personal God, while also he definitely says that religion is "as much a matter of the community as of the individual," and that "religion has always sprung out of a social background." p. 11.

[1] R. H. Thouless, *An Introduction to the Psychology of Religion* (1923), p. 3. Dr. Thouless' actual definition is "Religion is a felt practical relationship with what is believed in as a superhuman being or beings," *op. cit.* p. 4. On this it may be said that it does not specifically take account of a universe which may be greater

Similarly Dr. Selbie insists repeatedly that "The basis of religion is not to be found in any one faculty, but in man's mind working as a whole. Religion is the expression of the whole self, and every aspect of consciousness has its contribution to make. . . . Religion belongs to the whole man. Feeling, intellect and will all have their part to play in it. Any religious group which works by the inhibition of any of these faculties must so far be regarded as working illegitimately, and is doing no real service to God or man." [1]

Religion, in other words, is intimately concerned with everything in the man and with everything in his world, just as education is. Each deals with and involves the whole personality. Each must face all the problems of human society. Neither can restrict itself to the realm of theory. Both would fail if they were simply pragmatic or empirical. We have passed out of that period in the development of psychology when it was permissible to make divisions between the "faculties," or to regard emotion, thought and will as the ultimate elements in personality, inter-related, but capable of isolated activity and maintaining a different balance in the sphere of religion from that which they assume in the sphere of education. Mind and soul are no longer words that signify something very like different entities within the self. Education has in other days been regarded by a certain school of religious enthusiasts, not confined to one sect or Church, as the indispensable instrument of their propaganda, and as having little further value. This, of

than the sum of the superhuman and human beings to which it refers (if so mathematical a phrase may be allowed), and that the introduction of the term superhuman is confusing.

[1] *The Psychology of Religion*, pp. 40-41, 164-165 *et passim*. Dr. Selbie bases upon anthropological and psychological data his argument that "Religion is natural to man, an essential element in his being. It is his distinguishing characteristic to react to the universe in a religious way." But "its origin is not probably to be ascribed to the working of a religious instinct, but rather to the fact that man's primitive instincts work in such a way as to point to a religious interpretation of the universe and of life, and so to give rise to a religious sentiment." *Op. cit.* pp. 23, 13.

course, has reacted upon the influence of the religion which they have thus misrepresented, and has caused other people to look upon religion and the Church as blind superstition and obscurantism erected into a system. These others, in their turn, have thought of education as the supreme agent in the deliverance of the people from intellectual and social bondage, with the result that they have allowed a destructive rationalism to rob their educational efforts of life and colour, just as so many of the ecclesiastics, in their fear for the ark of the covenant, have committed sacrilege and blasphemed the Spirit. To-day religion and education must do far more than come to an accommodation. They must know whether in the nature of things they are eternally and in all things allies, each indeed the *alter ego* of the other, or whether they are essentially at variance, and committed by the law of their being to a ruthless war for the extermination of one of them.

Now if, as we have seen, religion involves feeling, thought and will, it cannot consist simply in a sense of dependence, an intuition of the eternal, a realised communion with the unseen, a mystic fellowship with God. Except in a sort of *Nirvana* of undifferentiated, pure Being, it must be based upon clear ideas, even for the sake of attaining necessary strength, depth, and permanence of emotion. Love of God and love of one's neighbour, in which terms Christ himself defined true religion, can only be evanescent, and perhaps illusory, sentiment unless God and neighbour are perceived and understood as realities, personal, moving in a world of time and space while at the same time belonging to a world that transcends these. Consequently the divine and the human must be known not merely in their ultimate spiritual quality but in their setting of material circumstance and moral relationship. The doctrine of the Incarnation is not a mere theory about an individual person. It is an assertion of the inseparable relationship between God, Man and Nature—for the whole attitude of Jesus to the non-rational and inanimate creation was that these are the instruments of the rational and spiritual, and may be made sacra-

mental.[1] Therefore religion is concerned not only with belief and worship, but with life and action. The ethical is as much a part of it as the spiritual. Religion is ideal life, and must express itself in action as much as in thought and feeling. There is therefore no province of human experience with which it has no vital relationship. Art and science, industry and commerce, economics and politics, work and play are all fields in which man's religion, or lack of it, must inevitably be revealed. Just as men's feelings about God will be influenced by their thought of Him, and their effective relationship to Him must involve the exercise of will, so the outcome of their religion in these ordinary relationships and activities of personal and social life must inevitably be conditioned by their knowledge and understanding of facts, laws, and principles which we assemble under such categories as those of mathematics or applied science, arts and crafts, economics and industry, domestic affairs or politics. Religion as mystical experience, moral standard, or spiritual motive is a disembodied abstraction in so far as it does not issue in conduct within all the varied spheres of human activity. Consequently it cannot be real and living apart from some sort of knowledge, both of things infinite and eternal and of things finite and temporal. Its validity is tested by its results in the continuous training of the whole personality and the shaping of society in every detail. As Dr. L. P. Jacks has recently reminded us, much that is vital in religion can never be expressed, or even understood, in terms of common speech. "Though the highest cannot be *spoken*, it can always be *acted*. By *acting* it, we not only grasp it firmly ourselves, but communicate it in the clearest manner one to another." [2]

[1] Cf. C. C. J. Webb, *God and Personality*, p. 82. Prof. Webb points out that Christianity has been able to maintain a doctrine of Divine Personality because of its peculiar doctrine of Divine Incarnation, which enters into the common life of ordinary men as much as into the theology of the Christian schools.

[2] "Now what are these 'highest' things that cannot be spoken? They are the ultimate realities of the universe. God is the chief of them, the summary of them all. In the deepest sense, not one of

That is the ground for maintaining that religious people and organisations for the promotion of religion must concern themselves with education in all its forms and in all its content. To teach only the content of the Bible, the essentials of belief, the ethical code, the methods of the devotional life, is not Christian education in any adequate sense. The application of all these truths is required, but is impossible so long as ignorance of the other great facts and forces of life prevails. It may be that the business of the Church is primarily to inspire men and women to worship and to practise fellowship. Probably when the Church has educated them in these particular subjects and relationships it has fulfilled its own direct teaching function. But it cannot stop there. It must see that they know the rest, and that this knowledge is related to that which the Church has imparted. Believing in the oneness of truth, the unity of personality, and the harmony of society, it must co-operate with all really educational agencies in the community, or its own specific work will remain incomplete, and may even be nullified.

This, of course, is not to argue that a man cannot in any sense be a Christian or a religious man unless he is highly educated. It does not deny the reality of a religious experience and the practice of a religious life by primitive or imperfectly educated people. But it does assert that religion demands intelligence both for its apprehension and for its application. It insists that no religion can be complete in its development which does not make use of wide knowledge and mature judgment. It demands that with the enunciation of intuitive experience and moral principles there should be given an adequate knowledge of the main facts and laws which belong to those " secular " spheres of thought and activity wherein religion is to take effect. Indeed, the obvious corollary to the argument is that any ultimate distinction between religious and secular is false.

them is speakable. But all are actable. . . . No man can fully *say* what he means by God. But every man can act what he means." *A Living Universe* (1923), pp. 22-23.

The Churches are frequently condemned for not making definite pronouncements about economics or political issues, and criticised, therefore, as being unpractical. Their reply, which is valid, is that their business is to maintain standards and quicken motives, and that if they take sides in political, industrial, or social disputes their moral authority will be imperilled, and they will lose both spiritual insight and impartiality of judgment. At the same time it needs to be urged upon them that they cannot fairly lay the responsibility of making grave decisions in the light of eternal principles upon men and women handicapped by ignorance of important facts and by lack of training in the exercise of judgment. Questions of war and peace can never be settled in the abstract. The fairness of the Treaty of Versailles, or the justice and the economic as well as the moral effects of proposals with regard to German reparations, cannot be estimated merely by reference to the Sermon on the Mount or St. Paul's Hymn to Love. Settlement of a strike on a morally satisfactory basis is not attained simply by the acceptance of both sides of identical ethical or spiritual standards. If the Church is not prepared or equipped to provide the necessary education in this wide range of knowledge and wisdom, she must at least admit that without it her own task cannot be fulfilled. She must urge that adequate facilities should be provided by the community as part of its normal activity. While naturally she will endeavour to send out into this service of education men and women possessed of spiritual power and insight, she will also be ready to recognise all truth, whatever may be the voice that utters it. She will welcome, as essential to the well-being and progress of her own cause, all forms of education that are sound and fruitful. In fact, she will not only believe that religion and education are parts of one whole, but will act constantly upon that assumption.

Conversely, education is incomplete if it leaves out religion.[1] There is a boasted impartiality among some

[1] Cf. quotation from West Riding Education Committee, vol. ii, c. iv. (footnote) and Mr. Salter Davies : " The central conception of

people concerned with education—especially with adult education—which is as superficial and as fatal as the separatism with which they charge the Churches and the clergy. That any true education must be free from bias and propaganda, economic, political, or sectarian, is self-evident. But to attempt the study of economics or political theory, industrial history or sociology, psychology or philosophy, ethics or biology without reference to the religious experience of mankind, to the spiritual basis of life, or to the moral standards involved in any ordinary acceptance of religious truth, is both unscientific and unpractical. Just as the inculcation of motive without direction, or the kindling of religious enthusiasm without relation to conduct, is futile where it is not dangerous, so the mapping out of an ideal State, the attempt to construct a satisfactory economic system, the endeavour to understand the workings of the human mind, or the investigation of the development of life, without any enquiry into the ultimate source of life, the springs of motive, or the transcendent elements of personality and the spiritual conditions upon which society exists ought to be recognised as equally futile or dangerous. Religion, where it appears quite definitely in human life, is acknowledged as a positive force in personal and social conduct even by those few extremists who account it invariably deleterious in its action. But the absence of it, if

such a system of thought is that God exists, not as a mechanical cause outside the series of events in space and time, but as the eternal reality of which our experiences in space and time are a partial revelation—as the infinite mind of which our finite human intelligence forms a part and with which it can identify itself by faith and will. Thus, we are ourselves, and yet have the power of transcending ourselves, just as in our ethical life we find the true realisation of our individuality in sacrificing ourselves for something which is at once ourselves and beyond ourselves. To those who think thus there can be no such thing as an education which is secular or an education which is merely ethical. Education has, as its supreme end, the realisation of the finite self in the infinite reality which is God; infinite beauty; infinite truth; infinite energy; infinite goodness—'ὁμοιῶσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ:' ('Likeness to God—so far as this is possible to man')." *Op. cit.* p. 23.

that absence can ever be proved, is by no means a mere elimination of something accidental. It is rather the prevalence of a negative influence with the active polarising effect of the negative element in electricity.

The mistakes that are generally made in this connection arise from confusing a particular creed or type of conduct with religion. It is a pity that we do not more often start with some such simple definition as that given us by the Master of Marlborough for the purpose of discussing "Religion and Humanity." "By religion," he says, "I mean no more at the moment than a belief in spiritual things as ultimately real." [1] Obviously a man may be unorthodox or unconventional without being irreligious. Agnosticism or atheism involves a creed and influences conduct just as much as Christianity or materialism does. But the point to be maintained is that every man has somewhere within him some conception of the source and purpose of all human life and natural phenomena, an idea of a universe and of ultimate forces, however crude that idea may be, and that to these conceptions or ideas he makes response, not only by way of physical adjustment but with the whole of his personality, no part of which (though it may be relatively more developed and prominent than others) is separable from any other part. Miss Evelyn Underhill speaks of "a power of reference to reality, of transcending the world of succession and its values," [2] which belongs to us all and is the basis of religion. Education which leaves this out of account is clearly inadequate. On the other hand, a true education must correspond with

[1] But Dr. Norwood goes on to say: "We have each our individual and our social life, and our religion must take all life as its province. With all its simplicity it must be capable of growth, in the sense that, no matter how far knowledge extends, our religion does not come into conflict with it. Its principles must remain of universal application. They must be seen to be true. They must work." He proceeds to affirm that such finality is found in Christ though not necessarily in Christianity, *i.e.* in any particular human interpretation of Christ. Essay in *Education and Religion* (1924), pp. 54-55.

[2] *The Life of the Spirit and the Life of To-day* (1922), p. 160.

the description which also we owe to Miss Underhill. "By education I mean that deliberate adjustment of the whole environment of a growing creature, which surrounds it with the most favourable influence and educes all its power; giving it the most helpful conditions for its full growth and development. Education should be the complete preparation of the young thing for fullness of life; involving the evolution and the balanced training of all its faculties, bodily, mental and spiritual. It should train and refine sense, instincts, intellect, will and feeling; giving a world view based on real facts and real values and encouraging active correspondence therewith." [1]

The last sentence obviates the criticism that such words might, without inconsistency, be put into the mouth of Robert Owen, with his doctrine of man as the creature of circumstances, or Karl Marx, with his Materialistic Conception of History, inasmuch as both affirmed that human nature contains a spiritual element, whatever the origin and destiny of "spirit." It also shows that Miss Underhill would not subscribe to the passive notion of education which regarded it as merely putting some knowledge and capacity into people which is not there, or drawing out something that is. She implies the activism of the current view that education is co-operation between the forces of nature and those of nurture. And what she says of the education of children is applicable also, *mutatis mutandis*, to that of adults, for she says that the whole process is intended to promote "the development of a whole man, fully responsive to a universe which is at bottom a spiritual fact." [2]

To consider any aspect of human life without reference to religion, or rather to those qualities in personality and society which find expression in religion, is therefore not neutrality or impartiality, but abstraction and limitation. Adult education, as Lord Haldane has said, ought to aim at understanding the wholeness and the unity of all knowledge, experience, and thought. The evidence of tutors in univer-

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 177 f.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 188. Cf. Miss F. Street, *The Faith of a Teacher* (1924), pp. 2-3 *et passim*.

sity tutorial classes is that constantly students finish up their evening's discussion by getting on to what by common consent are called, significantly enough, fundamental questions. These concern the real nature of human personality and society, the ultimate motives of conduct, the standards of judgment that are universal and that have intrinsic and permanent worth ; they turn men's thoughts towards the universe of life, thought and purpose against which the problems of any particular person or group, time or place must be set as against an enduring background. Consequently, if religious experience is real experience, no group of students is complete unless it contains at least some who have first-hand knowledge of it, and can make a direct contribution, in the light of what they have seen and felt and handled, to the discussion of all problems and the testing of all theories. Just as the ranks of labour are called upon to supply from practical experience the knowledge and insight which correct and supplement those contributed from the more academic university standpoint in the ordinary tutorial class, so also should the men and women of the Churches be expected to make their special resources available in the common quest of truth.

Here, again, the class or lecture need not, and indeed should not, be regarded as having the functions of a church or a sermon. Questions of a Biblical or theological character, matters of deep religious experience, can best be dealt with when people assemble for that particular purpose and under the leadership of those specially qualified by study and experience. But the two interests are not ultimately separable. If education in the " secular " sense drives men and women back to the consideration of such problems as are really religious in their nature, however they may be described, those who are concerned primarily with adult education should honestly recognise the place of religion in life, the function of religious societies and the necessity of co-operating with them. If education as a spiritual activity, which it is so sincerely affirmed to be by many who suppose they have no belief in or sympathy with religion in the

ordinary sense, means anything more than a vague non-materialism, a kind of aesthetic idealism, it is a spiritual quest. Religious formalities and current creeds may well seem irrelevant to it; the divorce of religion from conduct will assuredly be repugnant to it; but if it concerns the spirit of man and not merely his mind, his soul and not simply his intellect and his imagination, education has a root relationship with religion. "Every apprehension of Value," as Dr. Temple says, "is in principle a religious experience."[1]

There are many reasons why this has been overlooked, ignored, or even denied. A natural reaction from narrowness, vagueness, or hyper-spirituality in religion has resulted in narrowness, undue pragmatism, and secularism in adult education. In both movements a lack of courage has been manifest, the religious fearing to bring its lofty principles down to earth lest they should be lost in economic or political controversy, while the educational has been afraid to push its enquiries right to the innermost life of men because they might run into sectarian disputes or be dissipated by transcendental emotionalism. There may also have been an honest dread, on the one hand of courting disaster by attempting to deal with matters which are the province of the expert, and on the other of violating the sanctities of the inner life. The common failure is to understand that, though religion and education have each their own definite and distinct contribution to make to human development, they are interdependent.

Indeed, the fundamental weakness is that of failing to

[1] Cf. p. 32 *supra* (footnote). "Religion and education form an indivisible unity. Take them apart, think of them as separate, and both will suffer damage. Religion will be a thing for which there has been no preparation; education will be a process that leads on to no definite goal. The realities of the one are the realities of the other." L. P. Jacks, *op. cit.* p. 21. Cf. the Headmaster of Westminster (the Rev. H. Costley White) in *Education and Religion*, p. 172: "'To educate is to train all that are born to all that is human.' Very well, but the most human of all things is Religion. . . . All education accordingly is a study of God; and I, for one, hold that there can be no such thing as 'secular education.'"

grasp the wholeness of life and personality, the unity of all knowledge and experience. In fact, neither religion nor education has been sufficiently scientifically or sufficiently philosophically conceived by those who tacitly or openly treat them as separable. As we have already said, the complete man is at work in all true religion as in all true education.[1] Faith is essential to science, as science is to faith. Wonder and joy are the fruit of education, as enlargement of knowledge and clearness of purpose are of religion.

[1] Since the above was written, the English translation of Prof. Rudolf Otto's great book, *Das Heilige*, has appeared under the title *The Idea of the Holy*. It is a scholarly, profound, but lucid examination of religious experience. Dr. Otto starts from the fact that religion contains rational elements, capable of being grasped conceptually and stated in definite familiar terms. But there are non-rational elements, as indisputable as the others, which elude definition: "This shows that above and beyond our rational being lies hidden the ultimate and highest part of our nature, which can find no satisfaction in the mere allaying of the needs of our sensuous, psychical, or intellectual impulses and cravings. The mystics call it the basis or ground of the soul" (p. 36). But the two are essentially related: "By the continual living activity of its non-rational elements a religion is guarded from passing into 'rationalism.' By being steeped in and saturated with rational elements it is guarded from sinking into fanaticism or mere mysticality, or at least from persisting in these, and is qualified to become a religion for all civilized humanity. The degrees in which both rational and non-rational elements are jointly present, united in healthy and lovely harmony, affords a criterion to measure the relative rank of religions —and one, too, that is specifically religious" (p. 146). As Dr. Otto shows, the "non-rational" elements are as truly a mode of knowing as the rational. Through these supra-conceptual elements we come into direct correspondence with the Reality to which the Good, the Beautiful, and the True (apprehended conceptually) are adjectival. As St. Paul puts it, the complete man has a power of spiritual discernment (1 Cor. 2. 14-15). Religion and education are both concerned, not only with the elucidation and appreciation of spiritual values, but with enabling a man to attain to direct correspondence with that Reality, at once personal and supra-personal, Who is the ground of those values. It may be remarked that Dr. Otto repeatedly finds in music and art parallel illustrations of the process.

If religion is to be serviceable, and education is to emancipate the spirit of man, their relationship must be understood and made effective. They must become allied forces, each able to count upon the other in attaining victory over ignorance, prejudice, materialism, cynicism and selfishness.

IV

THE MANY-COLOURED WISDOM

A GOOD epigram indicates where the truth lies, and challenges thought to complete exploration of a country hitherto wrongly supposed to be well known. The familiar saying that an educated man knows a little of everything and everything of something is the fruit of wisdom as well as of wit. When Mr. Sinclair Lewis tells us that an educated man is one who can read the newspapers without being humbugged, he suggests a practical test which implies an unsuspectedly profound principle. If the purpose of education is to enable a man to achieve a unified personality in realised harmony with his world on a basis of universal spiritual values, the "subject-matter" of education must necessarily comprehend every interest and experience of which human beings are capable. There is literally nothing from which, in some way or other, the educational process may not start. Wherever it does start, for a given individual or a particular group, it must spread to the very horizon of life. Furthermore, it must bring within its scope everything that is thus added to the range of human awareness. In Mr. Horace Fleming's memorable phrase, "Our aim is to enlarge the area of consciousness in each individual so that he or she is aware of, and at home with, all that is beautiful and good and true." [1]

It is especially necessary that this conception should prevail and should be given due effect in all adult education.

[1] The reference is to the work of Educational Settlements in *Settlements and their Outlook : An Account of the First International Conference of Settlements* (1922), p. 82.

When Mr. H. A. L. Fisher set up a Committee to advise the Board of Education on Adult Education he attached very marked importance to the service that such a Committee might render in endeavouring to extend the range of subjects studied by adult groups. This was not because the subjects already most in vogue had not a high cultural and social value, but because the value of others had been to a great extent disregarded or not realised. Above all it was because no man can arrive at a true understanding of any subject or group of subjects so long as he deals with them in comparative isolation. The leisure of most adults is limited and their opportunites of further education are, as a rule, still more so. The keener the student, the more likely he is to have a well-defined purpose and motive in taking up this or that study. Efficiency demands from him a self-denying ordinance. Unless he concentrates upon his chosen subject, or even upon one or two aspects of it, he will gain no accurate knowledge and will develop no power of evaluating facts and theories. He will reap little from his work, either for his own satisfaction or for use in the service of society. At the same time, over-concentration has perils of its own. It may be impossible for an individual student or a class to range over many subjects. Nevertheless, every subject that has educational value in any ordinary sense should have its students, and every group of students should have ample opportunity of mingling with other groups in a wide fellowship of diverse knowledge and interests.

Beyond all else, the very nature of education makes it essential that every student should realise the relative character of his chosen subject ; he must perceive that it has a living connection with all the others, even though he may not have time or ability to follow out fully for himself all these relationships. For it is only thus that he can ever hope to get his scale of values right.[1] The mischief of a one-sided or fore-shortened education is less that people as

[1] "The persistence of real values can only be shown when the objects that are valued are considered in all their essential relations." J. S. Mackenzie, *Ultimate Values*, p. 111.

a result take to be valuable what is in truth valueless, than that they exaggerate some values to the exclusion of others. The mark of a liberal culture is mainly that it obviates this weakness and engenders the desire for wholeness. Such a culture need not be, and ought not to be, the prerogative of a few who are favoured by circumstances or gifted with a particular temperament. If, as Aristotle taught, the State exists to secure the good life for its citizens, among its first responsibilities must clearly be to see that its system of education at every stage has this liberal and liberalising quality. A university is a place for the comparison of values as much as for the elucidation of facts ; indeed, the first is its primary function so long as the second is thoroughly fulfilled. That is why the traffic of minds, the mutual impact of living personalities through constant social intercourse, is no less vital a part of the creative life of a university than lectures, books and examinations. That is what is meant by bringing the university standard and the university spirit into adult education. The unfortunate student who by reason of poverty or other circumstances struggles through a university degree course by correspondence, and ultimately, by dint of a perseverance for which he deserves infinite credit, or possibly by reason of sheer intellectual ability, succeeds in passing his final examination, really knows less of what a university means than does a member of a three-year university tutorial class taking a single subject under a competent tutor.

To implant this sense of the unity of knowledge should be the business of all schools.[1] "The function of early education in regard to life," says Sir Stanley Leathes, "is

[1] Throughout *Education for Liberty*, Mr. Kenneth Richmond is contending for "synthetic education"; the book is "about the unity of knowledge and about methods for establishing that unity"; the doctrine is applied to a number of "departments of knowledge" as we so stupidly call them, but, as Mr. Richmond urges: "The further evolution of educational method depends now, as always, not upon our power to teach an increasing variety of subjects, but upon our power to develop that type of understanding to which no subject is alien." p. 210.

thus to cultivate wholesome and varied tastes, to build up directing principles and habits in the personality, to fit for domestic, social, and political relations." But these very practical aims can be fulfilled only if there is constantly kept in view the principle underlying what he also says about universities. "If education is the chief object of an university, then the unity and interconnexions of knowledge will stand foremost with the framers of any scheme." [1] He is contrasting "education," in the general sense, with the highly specialised studies involved in research and with preparation for professions or for business. But the application of this very principle is surely required in all forms of university work, if only to deliver them from the defects of their qualities, to humanise them, to bring them into relation with reality. Nor is it otherwise with all forms of adult education.

A great apostle of this doctrine was John Henry Newman. It may be objected by some that his lectures on *The Idea of a University* were delivered in defence of an ecclesiastical cause. They were, of course, the outcome of a controversy about the propriety of establishing Theological Chairs in the newer universities, the widespread feeling against doing so being in itself a reaction against the sectarian exclusiveness that had for so long dominated Oxford and Cambridge. Newman's whole position was based firmly upon the fact, which he was careful to establish very clearly, though no one would dispute it, that Theology is as much a science as any of those which no university worthy of the name would fail to teach. The compromise offered was that the particular university in question should have no chair of Theology ("the science of religious experience" [2]), but that if a sufficient number of students desired it private provision should be made. Newman, however, proceeded to argue, as a vital point in the philosophy of education and not as a matter of special circumstances, that "knowledge forms one

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 62, 27.

[2] Cf. C. C. J. Webb's Lecture under this title in *A Century of Anglican Theology.*

whole, because its subject-matter is one," that individual sciences " are but aspects of things . . . severally incomplete in their relation to the things themselves, though complete in their own idea, and for their own effective purposes ; on both accounts they at once need and subserve each other," and that consequently " the systematic omission of any one science from the catalogue prejudices the accuracy and completeness of our knowledge altogether, and that, in proportion to its importance . . . Not even Theology, so far as it is relative to us, or is the Science of Religion, do I exclude from the law to which every mental exercise is subject, viz. from that imperfection which ever must attend the abstract, when it would determine the concrete." [1]

[1] *Op. cit.* (ed. of 1905), pp. 50-52. In order to make clear the groundwork of the Cardinal's thought, and to show how near this comes to the position taken in the earlier chapter of this book, expanded quotation seems desirable : " I lay it down that all knowledge forms one whole, because its subject-matter is one; for the universe in its length and breadth is so intimately knit together, that we cannot separate off portion from portion, and operation from operation, except by a mental abstraction. . . . Next, sciences are the results of that mental abstraction, which I have spoken of, being the logical record of this or that aspect of the whole subject-matter of knowledge. As they all belong to one and the same circle of subjects, they are one and all connected together ; as they are but aspects of things, they are severally incomplete in their relation to the things themselves, though complete in their own idea and for their own respective purposes ; on both accounts they at once need and subserve each other. And further, the comprehension of the bearings of one science on another, and the use of each to each, and the location and limitation and adjustment and due appreciation of them all, one with another, this belongs, I conceive, to a sort of science distinct from all of them, and in some sense a science of sciences, which is my conception of what is meant by Philosophy, in the true sense of the word, and of a philosophical habit of mind. . . . This is what I have to say about knowledge and philosophical knowledge generally ; and now I proceed to apply it to the particular science, which has led me to draw it out. I say, then, that the systematic omission," etc., *loc. cit.* Cf. Bacon : " Generally let this be a rule, that all partitions of knowledge be accepted ; rather for lines and veins than for sections and separations ; and that the continuance and entireness of knowledge be preserved. For the

More than fifty years have passed, and that battle has now long been won, at least in principle. For if any modern university does not include the Science of Religion among its Faculties it is because of the prevalence among its supporters of a utilitarian spirit which demands the disproportionate development of facilities for training in science as applicable to industry, and barely tolerates, if it does not neglect, many liberal studies besides that of Theology. Moreover, it has been proved conclusively in the experience of those newer universities which have departments of theology that the pursuit of this study with the utmost thoroughness is compatible with strict avoidance of dogma, sectarianism, and propaganda. All sections of the Church and all schools of Christian thought are represented on one common Board of Studies, and the only controversy that takes place is the healthy and fruitful controversy of vigorous minds set upon the exploration, by very diverse paths, of truth and reality. This has in due course had its effect upon Oxford and Cambridge, which have ceased to treat their Schools of Theology as the preserve of one Church, or one type of thought.

How important this is for certain practical issues in adult education will appear at a later stage of our discussion. For the present its relevance lies in the emphasis it gives to the necessity, and not only to the possibility, of recognising the unity of the subject-matter of education, including all that belongs to the study of Religion.

The weakness in the situation is that while, schematically

contrary hereof hath made particular sciences to become barren, shallow, and erroneous, while they have not been nourished and maintained from the common fountain." His main categories were three—History, Poesy, and Philosophy, and under these he arranged everything from Athletics to Theology. He thus referred them to "the three parts of man's understanding, which is the seat of learning *history* to his *memory*, *poesy* to his *imagination*, and *philosophy* to his *reason*. Divine learning receiveth the same distribution, for the spirit of man is the same, though the revelation of oracle and sense be diverse." *Of the Advancement of Learning* (Everyman Edition, n.d.), pp. 105 f., 69.

and philosophically, this interdependence of studies is no longer questioned, in the actual work of many universities it does not find the natural and constant expression that we might well expect. To this may be traced in large measure the fact that in much university teaching of "secular" subjects spiritual values are, to say the least, not always given primacy. There is all the more reason for emphasizing both truths in adult education if neither the preparation for it given in the schools nor the guidance and inspiration which it receives from the universities is as yet satisfactory in this respect.

As we look more closely at the main divisions into which the subject-matter of adult education falls (assuming that the range of that subject-matter really does correspond with the rich variety of human personality, the complexity of our world, and the nature of the universe with which we find ourselves in contact), we shall see what is meant by treating spiritual values as supreme. It is desirable, however, at once to obviate a possible misconception. Most emphatically must we insist that what is *not* meant is the exploitation of history, economics, philosophy, or any other subject in the interests of any particular faith. Neither is any special creed, religious or anti-religious, to be allowed to limit the recognition of facts or to affect the balance of judgment. If anything discovered about reality and verifiable in common experience is out of harmony with a previously formulated creed, so much the worse for the creed—idealist, materialist, or agnostic, religious or secular. What is demanded is not that preconceived values should be attached to facts as they are ascertained, but that the facts should be approached with a view to discovering in and through them the real values inherent in man, his world, and the universe.[1] If what we have already said about

[1] "What men fear," said Sanderson, "is a change of values. But Science is ever invoking a change of values. Its spirit is the spirit of growth, of change, of death and life. Its motto is always the words of the Master: 'I came that ye might have life, and that ye might have it more abundantly.'... The direct object of science

personality is true, these values will be found to be spiritual. And among the facts by which we arrive at those values is the fact of religious experience—as undeniable an element in the history of the race, whatever may be the interpretation given to it, as love and hate, work and play, body and mind, life and matter.

Experience has revealed the tendency in every educational movement gradually to push its frontiers beyond the territory which it originally claimed as its own special field of study. Analysis of any subject will show the impossibility of narrowly delimiting it. The attempt to apply any kind of knowledge to the practical uses of life will at once involve the personal and social factors and will bring spiritual values into consideration. But it is surely better to be scientific than to proceed in a merely empirical fashion.[1] If a man begins to study economics he will find, sooner or later, that he cannot stop there. If he undergoes a course of preparation for specific callings (be it as plumber or civil servant, doctor, merchant, or manufacturer) he speedily learns that in addition to "knowing his job" he must have "a knowledge of men," that with technique he must possess insight, judgment, character, and adaptability, if he is to become successful from any point of view.[2] Obviously,

teaching is to send out a stream of inspired workers, inquirers, searchers, and the characteristics of dominance are not its concern. Whatever of dominance it may give is the dominance of science. . . . Literature, Art, History will be regenerated by this spirit. They form a wide field open for the teacher of science and his pupil to explore." *Sanderson of Oundle*, pp. 238-240. Mr. Kenneth Richmond goes to the root of the matter, especially as it concerns adult students, when he writes: "Education for liberty means education in fellowship. But for real fellowship of minds we need community of thoughts; and by community I do not mean uniformity, but interrelation. We need a unity of spirit in a diversity of minds. And we can only achieve this by teaching, and teaching effectively, that all knowledge is one. With no conception of the unity of knowledge there is no fellowship in knowledge, and no liberty in thought." *Education for Liberty*, p. 3.

[1] Cf. Mr. Stanley Baldwin's centenary oration at Birkbeck College: "No one is educated who is not the master of his own job, and

therefore, it is exceedingly desirable that he should see from the outset what is before him. He should have some sense of intellectual and spiritual topography. Before he begins to dig in his own field he will do well to appreciate the fact that the fields in which his neighbours are at work are as valuable as his own, that they all belong to one country, and that even this country is only a part of a world which again is set in a universe. Of course the synthetic and the analytic activities supplement each other.[1] All kinds of circumstances come in to help in determining which will more naturally be taken first. But both are required, and in the case of the adult there are few reasons why he should not begin with some sort of *weltanschauung*, while there are many reasons why he should. Above all, if this interdependence of knowledge is a part of reality, and an aspect of that " kingdom of values " which we hold reality to be, it can be represented scientifically. If it is stated from a scientific point of view, on the basis of the nature of personality and of the universe, it becomes far more convincing and inspiring to most people than if it is put forward

I think I would go farther and say that to be educated you must know enough of other men's jobs to be able to understand the part they are playing in life, to play your own part, to sympathise with other men, and to play your own part at your work, and your own part as a member of the Commonwealth—in other words, to have humanity." *Birkbeck College Centenary Lectures* (1922), p. 172.

[1] The combination of these formed the strength of Sanderson's work at Oundle. This appears repeatedly in the contributions made by old boys and masters to *Sanderson of Oundle*, and in the addresses and essays gathered from his papers and reprinted in the book. Thus : " Often he would speak with amusement of headmasters and others who wanted to know how to co-ordinate science and mathematics, meaning apparently how to cut them up into sections for various members of the staff, and how to avoid ' overlapping.' He could never answer these questions because he wanted overlapping ; he wanted the science man to use mathematics and the mathematician to trespass on the scientific preserve. When boys find the one in close contact with the other, they see the facts from a new point of view, and realise that knowledge is a whole " (p. 88). For illustrations respecting groups of subjects apparently far less naturally related, cf. *op. cit.* p. 99.

primarily as a matter of " the feeling for unity," of generally idealistic temperament and outlook, or even of broad humanism.[1]

It would be impertinent to attempt in a few paragraphs an enquiry upon which a life-time of study could be spent, and the results of which it would take an encyclopaedic treatise to expound. Indeed, the task would be one requiring the co-operation of many minds and an illumination from practical experience which only widely differing types of such experience could afford. What is immediately possible for everyone, however, is to lift his eyes for a little from his own individual interests, and to glance at the chief subjects of study which do, in fact, occupy the men and women by whom he is surrounded. He will then be able, with sufficient accuracy for practical purposes, to group these subjects in an orderly way. Upon doing so he can hardly fail to perceive a clear interdependence among them, a deep-lying unity which springs from the fact that each is concerned with one or another of the complementary aspects of " man and his world," a common ground of importance in that the pursuit of each will have as its main result the understanding and perhaps the increase of personal and universal values. This will give him at least a preliminary notion of where his special study fits in with the rest, and what his purpose in following it ought to be. His conclusions may appear to be no more than somewhat superficial deductions from *prima facie* evidence. But he may rest assured that philosophy and science between them can

[1] The Memorandum of the Association of Directors and Secretaries for Education, arising out of the Reports of the Government Committees inquiring into the position of Modern Studies, Natural Science, Classics and English in the Educational System of the United Kingdom, says: " Effective co-ordination depends on the ability shown by the teaching staff to break away from the habit of thinking of the curriculum in terms of subjects which tend ever to increase in number, and to think rather of the larger entities to which they belong. . . . True co-ordination depends, in fact, upon finding the common bases of allied studies, and working outwards from these." *Times Educational Supplement*, March 22, 1924, p. 123.

substantiate fully all that is really vital to those conclusions, though he may not have the time, the facilities, or even in some respects the trained ability, to trace out their arguments for himself.

In detail such groupings would probably vary considerably, in accordance with the idiosyncrasies of those who made them. It may safely be assumed, however, that few if any studies fall outside some such series of categories as the following: Religion and philosophy; mathematical science and natural (or physical) science; physiological, biological, and anthropological science; mental and moral science; political and social science; economics; languages and literature; history and geography; art (including all forms of appreciation and practice); handicraft; technology (including its commercial application); professional training.

If now we recall any outstanding book on any subject covered by this summary we shall at once perceive that a competent scholar finds himself unable to discuss his own special theme without raising questions that belong to other studies.[1] This of itself goes far to establish the truth of our

[1] Consider, for example, in political and social history Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Trevelyan's trilogy of books on Garibaldi and the unification of Italy, J. L. and B. Hammond's *The Village Labourer*, *The Town Labourer* and *The Skilled Labourer*, or Beer's *History of British Socialism*. In the sphere of economics the same thing happens, as a reference either to familiar handbooks such as Henry Clay's *Economics for the General Reader*, or the Plebs *Outlines of Economics*, or to treatises like Marshall's *Principles of Economics*, or Marx's *Das Kapital* will demonstrate. To read L. T. Hobhouse's volumes on *The Rational Good*, *The Elements of Social Justice* and *Social Development*, or Miss Follett's *The New State*, is to encounter many problems that depend for their solution on factors quite outside the realm of social theory. If we are challenged to apply the same test to books on Natural Science it is unnecessary to do more than recall the completely new setting given to them all by Einstein's work, the far-reaching effect of which upon all phases of knowledge and enquiry has been shown by Lord Haldane in his *The Reign of Relativity*.

contention. It was in an address on "The Civic University," with its characteristic tendency to magnify the importance of applied science, that Lord Haldane said: "Applied science is in its best form only possible on a wide foundation of general science. And the fruitful scientific spirit is developed to-day on a basis of high intellectual training, the training which only the atmosphere of the fully developed University can completely provide. . . . You cannot, without danger of partial starvation, separate science from literature and philosophy; each grows best in the presence of the other." [1]

Thus it is by no mere accident of temperament or happy use of analogy that Professor Otto, seeking to elucidate profound thought upon the "supra-rational" element in the Divine nature and ways in which the human spirit can have direct experience of it, repeatedly has recourse to musical experience as a means of explanation.[2] Again, while we may not find ourselves wholly in agreement with Professor Arthur Dendy's biological argument from the structure and functions of primitive organisms to human society as "an individual organism of the highest order of integration," we must needs be grateful to him for demonstrating that the same laws of differentiation, division of labour, and redin-

[1] *The Conduct of Life* (1914), pp. 71, 91. On the other hand, Sanderson urged the importance of science in public schools, where it had been comparatively neglected, because, he said: "We claim that living creative science has more to give to literature, art, and history in these days than science has to gain from literary studies. The work of the schools is to study history, economics, philosophy, art, literature, under the dominant power of new values created by scientific research and discovery." He insisted in particular that "the reading of history, of literature, and what are misleadingly called 'humanistic' studies must be done again under the influence of biology." At the same time he sought to preserve balance and proportion, and it came as a surprise to many people to discover how much importance he attached to music, for example, "Music being a language in which the mind of man finds expression, its manifestations are part of history." *Sanderson of Oundle*, pp. 212-213, 106, 109.

[2] *The Idea of the Holy* (1924), pp. 49-50, 75-76, etc.

tegration are observable at every point in the scale from the cell to the Commonwealth of Nations.[1] Fifty years ago Professor Huxley declared that it was by a practical convention that sociology was not regarded as a department of biology, and with a mingling of humour and serious intent went on to say : " I should like you to recollect that that is a sacrifice, and that you should not be surprised if it occasionally happens that you see a biologist apparently trespassing in the region of philosophy or politics ; or meddling with human education ; because, after all, that is a part of his kingdom which he has only voluntarily forsaken." [2] It may at first appear whimsical to argue, as Lord Balfour does, that among the greatest values of history is its aesthetic value ; but he carries conviction when his main point is stated thus : " It most clearly emerges when, in moments of reflection, we enlarge the circuit of our thoughts beyond the needs of action, and, in a mood untouched by personal hopes or fears, endeavour to survey man's destiny as a whole." [3] It is in the exposition of literature from his professional chair at Cambridge that Sir Arthur Quiller Couch suddenly confronts us with what we now know to be for us a veritable riddle of the sphinx, which we must solve on pain of extinction if we fail : " This War will leave us bound to Europe as we never have been ; and, whether we like it or not, no less inextricably bound to foe than to friend. Therefore, I say, it has become important, and in a far higher degree than it ever was before the War, that our countrymen grow up with a sense of what I may call the soul of Europe. And nowhere but in literature (which is ' memorable speech ')—or at any rate nowhere so well as in literature—can they find this sense." [4]

[1] *The Biological Foundations of Society* (1924), pp. 55, 195.

[2] *Science and Education :* Essay " On the Study of Biology." Collected Essays, vol. iii. (1893), p. 271.

[3] *Theism and Humanism*, p. 91.

[4] *The Art of Reading* (Pocket Edition, 1924), p. 206. Professor Quiller Couch, later in the same lecture, observes that during the

Gathered almost at random, these reminders that every aspect of knowledge is organic to every other might be multiplied indefinitely. The most relevant illustration for our present purpose, however, is of course that of the relation between the first category in our series and all the rest. This has the additional advantage that it is often regarded as the most debatable—and all the more so if, instead of the general category, religion, we take the Christian religion as a specific instance. If, therefore, we can successfully maintain that a necessary relation exists here, and exists because, like the Christian religion, all other subjects of study have ultimately to do with spiritual values, our argument applies with all the greater force to the relationship between any one of the series and the remainder. Let us therefore enquire what is properly to be described as education in the Christian religion, and compare this with what is involved in the study of other subjects.

We may believe that the specific truths of the Christian religion are prior in importance and significance to all other knowledge, but they cannot be dissociated from the other elements with which they make up the total subject-matter of a complete education.[1] This follows from the unity of

War, "we have suffered heavily through past neglect and present nescience of our literature, which is so much more European, so much more catholic, a thing than either our politics or our national religion: that largely by reason of this neglect and this nescience our statesmen have again and again failed to foresee how continental nations would act through failing to understand their minds; and have almost invariably, through this lack of sympathetic understanding, failed to interpret us to foreign friend or foe, even when (and it was not often) they interpreted us to ourselves." *Op. cit.* p. 211. But how often is the study of literature regarded as part of the science of politics?

[1] For permission to incorporate material used in the following pages (pp. 102-108) the author is indebted to the courtesy of his colleagues in the Congregational Union Commission on Christian Education (Chairman, Principal A. E. Garvie, M.A., D.D.), to whom they were originally submitted as a memorandum for discussion. For suggestions embodied in passages on p. 107 *infra*, the writer has to thank Mrs. Parker Crane, M.A., and the Rev. Malcolm Spencer, M.A.

aim and purpose that sound education involves. Fulness of personality in, through, and for a thoroughly harmonised society—Christian character in the Kingdom of God, as Dr. Maxwell Garnett puts it, is the end to be attained.[1] The " single wide interest " thus developed by the individual will cover the whole world of men and things so far as he comes to know it. He will be dominated by a purpose so central to the real universe that in this purpose he will find himself at one with his neighbour. The emotions that become a driving force in him will be emotions which he shares in greater or less measure with them. Therefore no part of his education can be isolated from the rest. At the same time, all must in the end be subordinated to what he and his teachers regard as the final meaning of life and the fulfilment of its possibilities.

" Christian education," in the more restricted use of the term, has been taken to mean instruction in the Christian faith, guidance in the determination and practice of Christian conduct, and cultivation of the Christian spirit in communion with God and man. Many people consider that a full Christian education is comprehended by a knowledge of the Bible and the Creeds (or equivalent theological constructions), and the age-long story of the Church and of her contemporary activities at home and abroad, and (usually to a much smaller extent) of the application of the Christian principle in commerce and industry, civic, political, and international relationships. But obviously all this, if treated thoroughly, inevitably leads into the wider fields of history, philosophy and literature, of mathematics, science and art, of economics and politics, of technical and physical education. Neither the Old Testament nor the New, as historical records, can be understood properly in detachment from the story of Babylonia, Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Greece and Rome. Psychology and metaphysics enter deeply into the study of Christian experience and of its formulation into definite articles of belief. It is impossible to regulate personal and social life by the " golden rule " without at

[1] Cf. *Education and World Citizenship* (1921), pp. 308-316, etc.

least recognising the existence of elementary economic laws and arriving at some practical conviction as to the proper relationship between that rule and these laws, whether this be undying antagonism or progressive harmonisation. In like manner, all science is a series of observed facts which religion cannot ignore or deny, but must inspire men to use for the common welfare, having given them their due place in the religious view of the world. The very process of teaching the facts and principles with which religion is directly concerned demands a knowledge of educational theory and methods.

Equally impossible is it, on the other hand, to pursue an education in "general," as distinguished from "religious," subjects without being brought back to the fundamental questions raised by Christian thought, experience and teaching. The student of history is confronted in every period with the fact of religion and its power in social, economic, and political affairs. Philosophers can no more disregard the Christian view of Reality than they can the Platonic or the Rationalist. For psychology there is a distinct and illuminating field of enquiry in the phenomena of the religious consciousness in general and the Christian in particular. Science has neither arrived by its own characteristic method at a revelation of the First Cause, nor enabled us to dispense with the conviction that there must be one. If we are not prepared to accept as adequate the "Materialist Conception of History," with Karl Marx, or the theory of history as a mere procession of objective events, with some of our contemporary historians, on what basis is history to be integrated with other aspects of human life? If an economic reconstruction of society is impossible without reference to human motives, are we to regard Dr. Rathenau's spiritual idealism,[1] or still more, Mr. Tawney's definitely Christian basis,[2] as valid? When Professor McDougall[3] or Mr. Tansley[4] analyses human personality

[1] Cf. *In Days to Come* (Eng. trans. 1921).
[2] Cf. *The Acquisitive Society* (1921).
[3] Cf. *Social Psychology* (Fifteenth Edition, 1920).
[4] Cf. *The New Psychology* (1920).

down to instincts of self, sex and the herd, or similar elements, have they discovered the ultimate secret, or have we not still to ask whence came the individual human person in whom these are found, and whither is he going ?

Clearly, then, no education in the Christian religion is adequate, when judged by the standards which that religion itself provides, if its horizon encompasses less than the whole of life—knowledge, experience, thought and conduct. The Church, or, to use a less ambiguous term, the general body of Christians belonging to all Churches and to none, will be concerned primarily with the facts and values upon which the Christian religion is based, as these are known through the life of other generations and our own. It will put these first, and give its strength to teaching them, not because of dogmatic bias or in the interest of self-preservation, but because logically, experimentally, and vitally they stand first. The attitude of a child or an adult to these will influence his attitude to all truth. But the Christian community will take deep and constant interest in every other subject and means of education, not as possible sources of danger which must be controlled or destroyed, but as containing things necessary to a full understanding and appreciation of the specific truths of the Christian religion, and as offering indispensable opportunities for the exercise and development of the Christian mind and spirit.[1]

This does not imply that there are two separate and distinct spheres of education, the Christian and the non-Christian, or two corresponding categories of subject-matter. Our whole argument implies that education is a unified process and that all knowledge is intimately interrelated. But the point at which this process is to begin and from which the knowledge is to be pursued is not a trivial matter. For the Christian educationist the revelation of God and the interpretation of

[1] This is the contention of the late A. Clutton-Brock and the group of distinguished writers who collaborated with him in *The Necessity of Art* (1924). They urge that the artistic experience, in its varied forms, is not only illuminating, but indispensable to a full appreciation of religious truth. Cf. Clive Bell, *Art* (1923), pp. 75-94.

humanity found in Jesus Christ are both starting point and goal. Nevertheless, there is no need of any tampering with truth. There is involved no suggestion of using selected facts to buttress received opinions, as at times all sections of the Church have betrayed themselves by doing, as, in another sphere, the Court-dominated German universities did under the Hohenzollerns, or as, in the service of ulterior purposes, some confessedly class-conscious and mutually antagonistic organisations do to-day. It means that all studies must be approached from the Christian standpoint, which demands (in exactly the same way as, from another standpoint, the League of Nations Union has been demanding with regard to the teaching of history) that no facts should be ignored while others are given disproportionate emphasis, even, and perhaps especially, in the case of the Christian revelation itself. It insists that all ultimate truth, scientific and theological, economic and artistic, historical and psychological, physical and philosophical, is essentially in agreement, and that if there be contradiction anywhere it is because in one or other sphere (and not improbably in both) only partial truth has as yet been attained. It allows of no gulf between belief and practice. It asserts that if what we, as Christians, maintain about God and man is true, it must in the nature of things have an intimate relation with all that we come to know, or feel, or do. Thus we cannot, in fact, put either "religious instruction" or "general education" in a compartment by itself. There is an underlying unity.

If, then, there is no conflict between the study of religion and the study of other subjects, but their interdependence is evident, it is essential, not merely to Christian education, but to the completeness of all education, that subjects specifically and directly "religious" should be thoroughly explored and understood, and that the study and teaching of "general" subjects should not be pursued without reference to their deeper implications.[1] Both must be

[1] In the next chapter will be found a discussion of this point from the other side, so to speak—*i.e.* as illuminated by the requirements of other subjects of study. *Vide* pp. 145-149, *infra.*

approached from the standpoint of human and universal values.

Certain subjects stand out as needing special attention at the present time. Some require re-examination in the light of recent progress in knowledge, whether within their own particular spheres or in others which necessarily affect them (*e.g.* the relationship between modern psychology and Christian theology, as discussed in *Immortality*,[1] *The Spirit*,[1] and similar books). Where, as in the case of Old and New Testament study, scholars have come to a considerable measure of unity in their general conclusions after a period of radical enquiry and revolutionary discovery, there is overwhelming need for re-presentation of the subject, on an adequate scale and by unequivocal yet constructive methods, to the general community. At present we do not realise how many people either take the modern point of view in these matters for granted but never give the Bible or religion any real place in their life and thought, or else, being deeply concerned with religion, suppose that they are free to choose between the old position and the new on grounds of mere personal preference or tradition.

There are other subjects of study in which it has become urgent that a Christian standard of values should be asserted and maintained if their general trend is not to become antagonistic to human solidarity and idealism, to say nothing of Christianity. This is particularly true with regard to certain aspects of psychology, education, economics and politics. An exaggerated emphasis upon the sex-instinct, or upon instinct as apart from other factors in personality, will vitiate psychology much as the tendency to explain all psychological phenomena in terms of physiological function threatened to do a few years ago. The demand for freedom on the part of the student (whether child, adolescent, or adult), if not balanced by consideration of the teacher's responsibility for presenting the pupil with a complete range of material from which to choose, may end in chaotic and even dangerous methods of education.

[1] Edited by B. H. Streeter ; pubd. 1917 and 1919 respectively.

Economics can become a seed-plot of materialism and class-consciousness if they represent an abstraction from human relationships or are studied as political mechanism, when they should be regarded as an expression of motives and purposes through industrial and commercial channels. Heated or narrow nationalism, materialistic absolutism, and partisan democracy are alike fatal to clear thinking in the realm of political theory. Considerations such as these bring us back, on purely educational grounds, to the necessity of harmonising the content of an educational scheme. They also make it clear that if " education for its own sake " is a hollow phrase, the recognition of a dominant purpose does not involve disloyalty to truth in any subject so long as that purpose is of the kind which we have already discussed and have found to be valid both on general educational and on Christian grounds—indeed, fundamental to both, namely, the perception of real values.

We need not restrict ourselves to mere logical theory in maintaining this conclusion. There is abundant ground for it in the actual development of the various sections of the adult education movement during the last thirty years. Thus we find ourselves arriving at the same conviction, if we examine the records of such movements as the Workers' Educational Association and the National Council of Labour Colleges with its ally, the Plebs League. The first of these is impartial with regard to religion and politics. The others are neutral in the matter of religion, Socialist in politics, and of set purpose propagandist in the field of economic theory. The subjects studied in classes organised by the W.E.A. are determined mainly by the desires of the students, in part by the ability of the responsible joint committees with universities to provide competent tutors, and indirectly (especially in the case of three-year tutorial classes) by the regulations under which grants-in-aid are obtainable from the Board of Education, though religion is the only subject that has been specifically excluded by these regulations.[1]

[1] A great advance on the part of the Board is marked by the inclusion, in the new regulations for adult education issued in August

The Labour Colleges and the Plebs League,[1] on the other hand, seek definitely to equip the working-classes for the class-struggle, prefer complete freedom of choice in subject, method, text-book and tutor, and therefore neither co-operate with universities nor ask for grants-in-aid from public funds ;[2] they stand for stark independence, intellectual and financial, at all costs—" a dissidence of dissent."

1924, of a clause stating that classes in religious subjects are not eligible for grant " without prejudice, however, to the recognition of courses which aim at the scientific study of the documents, history, or philosophy of religion." This point is discussed in vol. ii. of the present book, ch. iv.

[1] Cf. Article on the Plebs League by J. F. Horrabin in *The W.E.A. Education Yearbook for* 1918, pp. 390-391. See also *Plebs*, the monthly journal of the movement, for the general point of view taken, and particularly *The National Council of Labour Colleges : History, Report, and Directory*, 1924. The distinction between the two movements is thus described by Mr. Horrabin in *Plebs* for March 1924 (pp. 91-93) in an article on " Mr. Cole's ' Middle Way ' " : " It is, in fact, a *class* issue, for it raises the whole question of independent working-class action, in every sphere, *versus* any kind of co-partnership with Labour's enemies. On the one hand, the Labour Colleges and the Plebs League stand for independence ; for an education based on the fact of the class-struggle, and aimed at serving as a weapon in that struggle. On the other hand, the Workers' Educational Association stands for the principle of ' social solidarity,' for ' contact ' between the classes as a sufficient cure for any (temporary) antagonism of interests, and for making governing-class ' culture ' more accessible to proletarians. . . . Membership of the League is open to all who subscribe to its main tenet—' Education, a means towards the abolition of capitalism.' There is no sort of ' party ' bar or disqualification. . . . Nor is any sort of rigid uniformity as regards political or theoretical opinions insisted upon (apart, that is, from the broad principle of working-class independence) ; the League includes workers who differ considerably as to immediate tactics, though they are united in general aim." Mr. and Mrs. Horrabin have now set out the history and basis of the National Council of Labour Colleges and the Plebs League in *Working-Class Education* (1924). *Vide* ch. v. pp. 71-88.

[2] In 1922 the National Council of Labour Colleges, on being asked by the Joint Education Committee of the Trades Union Congress " whether it was prepared to accept Government grants on condition that they did not involve any interference with or modifica-

We shall touch at a later stage upon the questions of aim and motive in adult education. All that we need take into consideration at this point will be the facts as to what subjects actually are studied by the W.E.A. and Labour College classes, though it is necessary that in doing so the other facts stated in our last paragraph should be kept in view as indicating certain limitations of range under which the respective movements, by their own choice or otherwise, carry on their work.

In the early days of the W.E.A. the demand for classes in economics and industrial history was paramount. The original university tutorial class taught by Mr. R. H. Tawney at Rochdale began in 1908, and its subject was Industrial History. A companion class at Longton, organised a little later, but actually holding its first meeting a few days earlier than the Rochdale one, was also under Mr. Tawney, and took the same subject.[1] The Board of Education Report on tutorial classes for 1908-9 states that of thirty-five classes at work practically all are studying Economics and Industrial History, as "avenues to liberal culture and fields of intellectual interest." The Report for 1909-10 tells of nearly seventy classes, and says: "The subjects studied in the great majority of classes are historical and economic, the only exceptions being one class studying Science, two studying English Literature, and two studying Philosophy." But in the Report for 1911-12 we find evidence of new developments; there were ninety-four classes in existence; "The subjects most ordinarily selected continue to be Industrial History, in which there are thirty courses, and Economics, in which there are forty-two; but a tendency to widen the range of subjects is showing itself, and there are now eight classes in Sociology, four in English Literature,

tions of our (N.C.L.C.) present educational policy" agreed "by an overwhelming majority" to say "yes," but in practice the issue has never been raised. Cf. *Plebs* for July 1924, p. 270.

[1] Cf. T. W. Price, *The Story of the Workers' Educational Association, 1903-1924* (1924), pp. 31-35, and Albert Mansbridge, *University Tutorial Classes* (1913), pp. 68-84.

five in General History, four in Philosophy, and in Biology." [1] The Annual Report of the W.E.A. itself for the year 1922-23 records a total number of 363 tutorial classes during that winter, and says : " Economics (which still continues to be the dominating interest), Literature, Industrial History, and Psychology, were taken by 190 classes. The following list of subjects and the number of classes in each shows how wide is the variety of interests and indicates the measure of interest taken in each subject." [2] That list involves practically all the categories included in our series with the exception of technological and professional subjects, with which it is not the purpose of the W.E.A. to deal, Religion, which is ruled out for the reason given above, and Mathematics and Languages. Writing in 1920, the founder of the Movement comments thus upon the significance of the subjects studied :

[1] Cf. A. Mansbridge, *op. cit.* pp. 68-84, 168-171.

[2] Report as printed in *The Highway* for September 1923, p. 138. The list in full is as follows : Economics, 98 ; Literature, 53 ; Psychology, 39 ; Philosophy, 24 ; Appreciation of Music, 14 ; Economic and Industrial History, 13 ; History, 12 ; Biology, 12 ; Welsh Language and Literature, 9 ; Political Science, 9 ; Social History, 8 ; Human Geography, 7 ; Social Problems, History and Problems of Labour, and International Relations, 4 each ; Growth of Civilisation, Sociology, and Colonial History, each 3 ; History and Biography, Development of English Thought, Social Theory, Logic and Rhetoric, and Local Government, each 2 ; Domestic Hygiene, Natural Science, Geology, Drama, and Ideal Societies, each 1. The Report of the Oxford Tutorial Classes Committee for 1922-23 says : " A noteworthy feature was the revival of interest in Modern History and the growth of a demand for Philosophy. Although students found the study of Philosophy difficult, keen interest was shown in the subject, and good work done. One philosophy tutor states : ' the effect of grappling with difficulties . . . has in several cases been remarkable, real originality being shown.' Another writes of a philosophical study circle formed from the members of two tutorial classes in the subject that it ' is a centre of philosophical interest such as would be difficult to find outside a University.' " The Nottingham University College Joint Committee reports, in 1923-24, a " keen demand for English literature " and " a steadily increasing demand for History " among tutorial classes.

" As a rule the subjects studied are economic ; and a large number of classes take industrial history. After a little while students become keenly interested in literature and philosophy. The preponderance of economics studied has been deplored by those who only know the economics of the Universities. In any case the actual subject of study is not of so much concern as the spirit in which it is studied. In a tutorial class there is little or no danger of narrow treatment. In any case the range of subjects is limited to those which do not demand a long period of school education ; for instance, mathematics and languages are beyond this range, and the same may be said generally of pure and applied science, although some of the most successful classes have been held in biology." [1]

Part of the significance of this widening of range may not at first be apparent. While it is true that the Movement has attracted students whose initial interests were not in economic and industrial problems, many of those who are now working at Philosophy, Science, Literature, Social and Political History, and so forth, were led to enter upon these studies because they began with courses in Economics, and therein encountered the fact that man is a unity in diversity, that only the " many-coloured wisdom " which St. Paul attributes to God [2] is adequate to the task of understanding fully any aspect of human life. They have discovered that " adult education is a secular gospel. In itself it does not transcend human limitations, but by its insistence on the development of the legitimate faculties of man, a development secured by concentration on things that are in themselves pure and true, it draws men to the boundaries of human power until they face the Unknown." [3]

In the case of the Labour Colleges and the Plebs League our data are not so full. Details of the numbers of classes and the subjects taken in these from the foundation of the movement in 1908 are not available. But there is clear

[1] A. Mansbridge, *An Adventure in Working Class Education*, p. 42.

[2] ἡ πολυποίκιλος σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ.—Ep. 3. 10.

[3] A. Mansbridge, *Adventure*, p. 65.

evidence of a not dissimilar development.[1] Almost exclusive emphasis was at first placed upon economics and industrial history, with English as a necessary preliminary equipment in the case of students who had not gained from elementary education, or retained, effective powers of reading and self-expression. But the lapse of time saw the addition of history, geography, literature, and psychology to the list. The Plebs Textbook Committee, in its Preface to *An Outline of Psychology*,[2] says: "The Plebs badge is a question mark. Doubtless some working-class students will ask: Why Psychology? They will say, Economics we know; Industrial History we know; Economic Geography we know, but what has Psychology got to do with Independent Working Class Education?" At the beginning of the first chapter the writer says: "The student in the Independent Working-Class Education movement learns to interpret the social, political, legal, cultural, and religious institutions of society in the light of the *Materialist Conception of History*." Again we observe a widening of studies due to the fact that the general subject is man in his relation to Nature and the social order.[3] Yet more revealing is a passage from *An*

[1] For the total number of classes in 1924 and the general list of subjects, see vol. ii. ch. i. p. 23 *sq.* The facts are taken from the first report published by the N.C.L.C.

[2] Published in 1921.

[3] In *Plebs* for February 1924 (p. 86) attention is drawn to Trotsky's deprecation of attempts to develop "proletarian" art, and the following sentences are quoted: "The contrasting of bourgeois culture and bourgeois art with proletarian culture and proletarian art is fundamentally erroneous. These latter will never exist at all, since the proletarian regime is temporary and transitional. The historic meaning and moral grandeur of the proletarian revolution lie in the fact that it is laying the foundations *for a non-class, for the first genuinely human culture.*" In their recently-published little book on *Working-Class Education* Mr. and Mrs. Horrabin say that while the Independent Working-Class Education Movement finds it necessary at present to concentrate on certain subjects, "it is only postponing the day when it will take all knowledge for its province, and finally make all knowledge the heritage of the whole of humanity, and not of a leisured class. If it bases its outlook on the point of

Outline of Economic Geography,[1] which clearly indicates a modification, if not a contradiction, of the materialist conception of history itself. A plea is being made for the fostering of the international spirit among workers, though with the object of making it possible to wage the class war on a world-wide scale ; the writers say : " It is quite wrong to think that ' economic development ' will in some mystic way bring about One World Group ' when the time is ripe,' and that, therefore, we need not trouble much about it. Nothing is inevitable, and history is made by human *action*." The growth of a faith so much richer and deeper than the orthodox dogma explains the desire to expand the field of study.

The choice of subjects by adult students illuminates the aims and motives characterising the various groups and movements. To that point we shall return. But before passing from these evidences of the way in which the natural unity of knowledge and the predominant importance of spiritual values in adult education are confirmed by the experience of typical movements we must note another fact. Save for the limitations placed upon adult students by circumstances, the range of studies which they would voluntarily pursue would quite certainly be wider than it is. The Ministry of Reconstruction Committee on Adult Education deals very fully with " the importance of a Wide Range of Subjects," and devotes several pages of its *Final Report* to showing what might and should be done with regard to

view of one class—the working class—here and now, that is because it sees in the enlightened, purposeful action of that class the one way to a new and better order of society," p. 67. This note is repeatedly struck, though they also stress the class-obsession so inconsistent with it, as when they write : " The British Labour College Movement, for example, has begun to realise comparatively recently the usefulness of such activities as musical and dramatic performances, play-readings, etc. Not only are such things invaluable as methods of appeal to new groups of workers, but they can very definitely become means of deepening and stimulating the class-consciousness of every worker," p. 83.

[1] Published in 1923, p. 125.

natural science, modern languages, craftsmanship, and literature. All this is from the standpoint of the true nature of education, and not merely from that of meeting the demands of students. None the less, it states very definitely that the humanism and the insight displayed by adult students in their attitude to education is often underrated by people who have not an intimate knowledge of these movements. The *Report* says: "It would be a misfortune, however, if Adult Education came to be regarded as being in any way limited to certain subjects, however valuable in themselves, to the exclusion of others. Its character must, indeed, be determined by the students, not imposed upon it from above by educationalists. But from the experience already obtained there is abundant evidence that facilities for study of a more diversified kind than at present exist would meet with an immediate response, both among existing students and among others who have not yet been enlisted in the movement. The scope of Adult Education should be as wide as the interests of the men and women to whom it makes its appeal." [1]

Technical and professional subjects lie outside the sphere of adult education, which, as generally understood, is essentially non-vocational. If it were only to complete the circle of our present theme, however, we could not pass by the relationship between these subjects and the others without some reference thereto. But there is a stronger reason than this for giving the matter definite thought. For many a youth and girl the only systematic education that he or she receives after finishing a general course at school is in direct preparation for a specific calling. A considerable number among even those who are fortunate enough to go up to a university specialise from the start on chemistry or engineering, medicine or law, commerce or music, or whatever else (not excluding theology) may be their particular vocational study. If the unity of knowledge and the primacy of spiritual values are not brought home to them then they

[1] Ministry of Reconstruction Committee on Adult Education, *Final Report*, 1921 (Cmd. 321), pp. 82 ff., para. 147.

may evince little appetite for other studies when, later on, they are free to pursue them and to correlate them with the vocational reading which they continue to do after they have qualified and started on their careers. Or again, if they become intellectually keen and, when they are established in their callings, take up some non-vocational subject, they may approach it with an unfortunate bias, or even in a spirit of reaction so strong that they cannot easily rid themselves of the belief that their work lies in one world while their leisure-time liberal studies lie in another.

It is the more striking that when we come to this group of subjects we find the bodies concerned respectively with religion, education and organised labour, and the finer sort of professional associations, all making common cause. Of course, any one who chooses a calling from an idealistic motive is likely to regard the preparation for that calling in a similar way, and to perceive in it an agency of spiritual development and service. But there has been a tendency to regard technical and professional training as being, in itself, outside the realm of the humanistic and the spiritual. The curriculum has often been determined by the twin influences of sheer mental and manual efficiency on the one hand and wage-earning or money-making power on the other. There is " no time " for poetry or philosophy, for the historian or the psychologist, when you are studying electricity or dentistry, law or banking—so runs the plea. The apprentice at his evening school or the student at his technical classes has been urged to get through his examination or his trade union test, rather than to penetrate the purely technical details of his work, in order that he may perceive the personal and social significance of it. Yet here, also, a great change is gradually taking place. Recently the Huddersfield Technical College, one of the most important technological colleges in the North of England, appointed a Director of Humanistic Studies to its staff—an event which, as the Committee on the Teaching of English was not slow to point out, " has immediately been followed by the rise of a number of classes for adults in or near

Huddersfield." This Committee, like the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction and the Labour Party Committee which drew up the *Memoranda on Continued Education*,[1] takes the view that technical training may be made the instrument of a real culture if it is carried on under the impulse of a social motive, in a humanistic atmosphere, and by such methods as to show the student the relation of the daily work he does in his calling to the processes of nature, the service of society, and the freedom of the creative spirit.[2] And we may rest assured that Sanderson unconsciously spoke for many other teachers, perhaps less well known than himself, when he said: "I have always had before me the work of organising technical subjects so that they might give all that is best to give of spiritual and intellectual training." [3]

The profession of teaching may be thought to differ from others (except that of the Christian ministry) in the standpoint from which it regards the technical studies necessary in preparation for it and in pursuit of it. Yet even here

[1] Published in 1919.

[2] See Report of the Prime Minister's Committee on *The Teaching of English in England* (1921), pp. 152-166; *Final Report*, pp. 149-153, §§ 288-300; *Memoranda*, pp. 8 f. A striking incident is recorded in *Education*, being the Report presented to the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics, and Citizenship at Birmingham, April 5-12, 1924: "In a discussion on engineering training with a dozen Manchester engineers, a speaker expressed the opinion that the chief business of the secondary school through which most of the future leaders of the engineering industry should pass on their way to college was to foster the growth of true religion. At once member after member took up this question, and asserted that in his opinion religion was connected with all that was best in his own business. One of the engineers present went so far as to say that he never made any important advance in his designs or methods of manufacture without feeling its close relation to his religious life; and it appeared that most, if not all, of the other members of the group shared the same experience," p. 49.

[3] *Sanderson of Oundle*, p. 264. Cf. Prof. A. N. Whitehead's Presidential Address to the Mathematical Association on "Technical Education and its Relation to Science and Literature" in his book *The Organisation of Thought* (1917), pp. 29-57.

there has been a failure on the part of systems to recognise and foster the idealist and humanist elements. Secondary teachers have till recently not been required to take any technical training at all, and their academic studies have often been allowed to make them mere grinders of grammar or peddlers of scientific formulas. Witness the *effect* of the average teaching of classics or mathematics and science in many secondary schools. Elementary teachers have been compelled to snatch such liberal education as they could in the interstices of two crowded years of normal training. Clergy and ministers, again, have often enough found that the curriculum of theological colleges was designed only to equip them with linguistic and metaphysical tools and with the appropriate grindstone for subsequent use. Of course, both clerical students and teachers have struggled against such a perversion of professional education, and have often triumphed over it magnificently. Moreover, it would be folly, indeed, to forget that the first step in spiritual effectiveness is mental and bodily efficiency. Students who are to become teachers or ministers must needs give themselves to the discipline of their calling before they begin to practise it; only too often, in the case of both professions, have they come to their technical preparation very badly educated in general subjects. But the unity of the two parts of their preparation by reason of the spiritual values common to both has far too frequently been overlooked.

Now, however, the systems are being altered, and a wider vision of the professional training is entertained. As evidence of this the remarkable circulars issued by the Board of Education to Local Education Authorities[1] and to Teachers in the Army[2] in connection with the recruiting and training of teachers for the proposed Continuation Schools may be cited. These appealed to the impulse towards social service as a reason for adopting teaching as

[1] Circular 1102, April 4, 1919: *Memorandum on the Staffing of Continuation Schools.*

[2] Circular 1132, September 1919: *Note on Teaching in Continuation Schools as a Career.*

a career, declared that "the profession of a teacher, or any other profession, would be a sterile one if it did not rest upon some such spiritual basis as this," and laid stress upon the value not only of an education in the liberal atmosphere of a university, but also of such experience as that gained by W.E.A. students or members of Settlements. "The instruction, however modest its standard, must be given out of an ample store of knowledge, and the mental stimulus, however general, can only be imparted by those who have themselves come into touch with some of the best that has been discovered or dreamed of by explorer or sage. . . . The appointed guides of adolescence must themselves be mature; still young, no doubt, in sympathies and ardour, but with some tempering of experience, some ripening of character and acquired habit of independent judgment, and some familiarity with the problems of life as they present themselves from other angles than that of the teacher." [1]

It may be thought that the training of people in professional colleges or in civic universities is outside the scope of an essay dealing with adult education.[2] The importance of what is done within the walls of such institutions, and during the two or three years when young men or women are full-time students there, lies in what it makes of them when they come out—whether they are students all their lives as a result; whether they are fitted not only to teach children, to preach sermons, or to take places of responsibility in industry and commerce, but also to become leaders in an adult education movement throughout the whole country and among all classes of people; and whether, if they do become such, it is as the direct result, and with the full enrichment, of their college days, or only as a healthy but crippled reaction from the dehumanising influence of their training. Everything depends on whether they have

[1] Circular 1102, para. 7.

[2] "Adult Education" is used throughout this book in the usual sense of the *non-vocational* education, whether by formal or by informal methods, of people who have ceased to be "young persons," as, according to the Fisher Act, they do at eighteen years of age.

pointed out to them, or perceive for themselves, the unity of knowledge and its relation to spiritual reality.

If Labour men, business men, and educationists alike plead for the infusion of a truly vocational element into all technical studies it must surely be in virtue of a belief in those values which, for Christians, ultimately reside in God, personality and society. On the other hand, the content of a "Christian education" must intensively and extensively comprehend all that the idealists in all the sections of educational activity claim for their own provinces, and must transcend it, at the same time welding it all into a great unity.

Whether, then, we begin with the subject of religion, with those economic, political, and social studies that possess so living an interest for the majority of adult students to-day, or with technical and professional subjects, we cannot pursue them faithfully, thoroughly, and in their proper relation to personal and social life without discovering their deep-seated unity. "There is only one subject-matter for education," declares Professor A. N. Whitehead, "and that is Life in all its manifestations. . . . What we should aim at producing is men who possess both culture and expert knowledge in some special direction. Their expert knowledge will give them the ground to start from, and their culture will lead them as deep as philosophy and as high as art." [1] The one-ness thus discovered is not due simply to the unifying activity of our minds as knowers, or to the complexity of the human society of which each individual man or woman is an inseparable part. It is, to use Lord Haldane's word, something foundational. It is grounded in the quality of those inter-related aspects of reality with which our various studies bring us into contact. To miss this fact or to ignore it is something worse than a misfortune. "The modern fashion of separating sacred from secular has blurred our consciousness of a great under-

[1] "The Aims of Education": *Op. cit.* pp. 13, 3-4. Cf. Sir Thomas Holland and Prof. C. H. Desch in *Technology and Humanism* (Milford, 1924).

lying fact, viz. that whatever we teach in isolation from the great circle of truth, with no promise of relation to the deepest principle of life, unilluminated by any light of the ideal, detached, in other words, from the idea of God, we are bound to teach as a falsehood." The words are those of a group of people, each experienced in one or other of the many phases of education as we have it in England to-day, commissioned, as a group, to consider and lay before the Churches of the country the demands and possibilities of the educational situation as they see it. This note of unity is predominant in all that they have written.[1] The same conclusion is being urged upon us by philosophers and scientists. "I think," says Lord Haldane, "that the greatest lesson that it (*sc.* philosophy) can yield to-day is that the relativity of knowledge has among its consequences this, that all forms of knowledge are reconcilable if construed as aspects within one entirety. This is a lesson which we saw exemplified in physical science. We saw it also illustrated in biological science by the fitting in, when properly understood, of the methods of physics and chemistry with the recognition of the essence of organic life as to be sought in a controlling end. We traced the same principle, that of distinguishing realities into aspects as distinguished from entities, in psychology and the science of the state. It would be easy to follow out the lesson in the treatment of other subjects, such as economics." This statement follows quickly upon the assertion that the characteristic of religion "is that the relation of the self to the entirety in which its reality lies is the relation of man to God."[2] There is complete harmony between the view thus expressed and Professor

[1] C.O.P.E.C. Report on *Education* (1924), p. 9. The passage is followed by a number of paragraphs pointing out the way in which spiritual values will be brought out in the teaching of science, history, art, languages and literature if these subjects are presented in their proper relationship to the Christian religion, the values being, of course, intrinsic to the studies and not merely attached to them out of religious sentiment.

[2] *The Reign of Relativity*, pp. 413, 412.

C. C. J. Webb's exposition of the relationship between Divine Personality and human in practically every form of experience covered by our categories of subjects.[1]

While, then, these categories and the different studies subsumed under them may be placed in an ascending scale of importance, differing according to the temperament and the experience of the individual student, no one of them can be regarded as unnecessary, for each of them is dependent in greater or less degree upon all the rest for its complete elucidation and evaluation. Neither can it be said of any that it is not a valid subject of study, to be given its due place alongside all the others. Many may be used for secondary purposes—propaganda, livelihood, or what not. But so long as each is pursued, by those who wish to study it, with the pure desire of arriving at the truth, beauty and goodness which from the days of the Greek philosophers to our own have been regarded as the inseparable elements of the good life, so long should every facility for that study be accorded.[2] This, of course, raises questions about the expenditure of public money, which we must consider in due course. But even these are determined on false issues if they are not settled ultimately on the philosophical and educational grounds set forth in this chapter. Meantime we see that if the function of education is to nourish human personality and bring it into living correspondence with its

[1] *Divine Personality and Human Life.* The titles of six out of the ten lectures may be quoted as indicating this—Divine Personality and the Economic Life ; Divine Personality and the Scientific Life ; Divine Personality and the Aesthetic Life ; Divine Personality and the Moral Life ; Divine Personality and the Political Life ; Divine Personality and the Religious Life.

[2] " Here is the touchstone by which the claims of a subject for a place in the time-table can be infallibly tested. Does it represent one of the great movements of the human spirit, one of the major forms into which the creative impulses of man have been shaped and disciplined ? . . . The only satisfactory definition of the useful is that it contributes to fulness of life." Prof. T. P. Nunn, " The Education of the People " (Presidential Address to the Educational Science Section of the British Association at Liverpool, September 14, 1923). Cf. Miss F. Street, *op. cit.* ch. v.

environment, thereby revealing spiritual values that are not only personal, but social and universal, the wisdom that it seeks must, indeed, be many-coloured. Yet these colours, distinct as they are, do not merely fade imperceptibly one into another like those of the rainbow, but constitute the single ray of white light seen through the spectrum of human life.

V

A NEGLECTED HERITAGE

If we are to view aright the development of education as leading to an appreciation of spiritual values, the categories into which the principal subjects of study were divided in our last chapter must each have intrinsic worth from an educational standpoint, whatever other claims upon our attention they must possess. The first on the list must not owe its position merely to our desire to give a dominating influence to what we regard as ultimate in religion, any more than the last should be admitted only because we must know how to earn a living.

The very claim of studies dealing with religion to be specially concerned with the life of the spirit, however, is apt to render them suspect among certain groups of students, just as economics was regarded in some quarters, seventy or eighty years ago, as necessarily a partisan, and even a dangerous, study. At the risk of some disproportion, therefore, it may be worth while to devote a chapter to vindicating the study of religion as a real educational organon. In showing its independent value for the student, as apart from its special significance for the strengthening and enrichment of religious faith, we shall also establish the point that the Church, like the theological faculties of the Universities, has a specialised contribution of scholarship to make to the adult education movement as a whole, and that this ought to be recognised and welcomed by all who have an unprejudiced loyalty to that movement, even though in some other respects their attitude to the Church may be neutral or antagonistic.

One reason for neglect of the study of religion has already been stated. Die-hards have insisted that their outworn dogmas are the sole possible interpretation of the sacred books and of the story of the Church, ancient, mediaeval and modern. But perhaps an even more potent hindrance in days like our own, when the historical and literary sense is more widespread among us, and we no longer confuse mere antiquity with authority or fail to see that in the spirit of other days may lie an immortal inspiration for our own, is that many people do not realise what an illimitable field of interest, for the scientific and the social mind as well as for the ethical and emotional temperament, lies there to be explored.[1] It is all too commonly supposed that unless for the sake of orthodox religious associations one has a peculiar affection for these studies they are dull, unprofitable, and stultifying—no fitting task for the alert and practical modern man or woman. It therefore becomes a part of our business to show that in them we possess a real means of education in the freshest and most stimulating sense. "There are, I suppose," says the Dean of Bristol, "three main aims of education in the narrower and more professional sense: to impart information, to equip for practical activity, and to teach the pupil to think and so to *be*. . . . I submit that the right kind of teaching of religion may be the best way of teaching the average man to think. For here are the subjects on which, in youth at least, he is thinking naturally." [2]

[1] "The revived interest of school teachers to-day in religion is remarkable. It was feared that criticism would undermine authority and expel the Bible as a book of legends. Teachers listened, asked for further explanation, took it in; said, Now we can read the Bible honestly, and now the story in it really lives. . . . There was contest; then weariness of contest; then gradual discovery . . . that religion could be taught with the painstaking of science, and that secular studies were actions of religion, and thus were romantic and serviceable." *Cambridgeshire Syllabus of Religious Teaching for Schools*; Report of an Advisory Committee of the Cambridgeshire Education Committee (1924), pp. 1-2.

[2] *Education and Religion*, pp. 21, 26.

The unique distinction of the "Greats" school in the University of Oxford is that it takes the classical literatures of the ancient world not only as material for discipline in literary taste, form, and expression, but also as a basis for the study of the essential elements in human personality and society. In like manner the classical literature of religion, for most people in this country, is the Bible,[1] and it is fitting that we should begin our consideration of the study of religion with this. Subsequently we shall see that the Bible constitutes only a part of a very wide and rich field, upon every corner of which science, art, philosophy and other forms of truth are now confessedly drawing for knowledge essential to the completion of their own particular quests. But the Bible itself, regarded objectively as a collection of documents, is an obvious starting-point for us.

The serious student quickly discovers a fact which those who dismiss the Bible without troubling to read it of course never perceive. It is that the central purpose of the Bible, and more particularly of the New Testament, is in complete harmony with that of true education, which, indeed, it supplements in one vital respect. Professor J. Morgan Jones has recently pointed out a weakness of much modern education in that, while emphasising "the moral nature of the ultimate aim in view," it has often been singularly vague in its presentation of the ideal to be attained. "Modern educators," he says, "would probably be ready to describe it as the formation and sustenance not simply of a full, rich, ideal human character, but rather of a fully developed, free personality in the case of each pupil—a personality developed to the fullest extent, variety and wealth, of which the general and individual nature of each pupil is capable as a member of the human community." But they say little as to the

[1] This, of course, must not be taken to imply an exclusiveness alien not only to scholarship, but to the spirit of Christianity. The comparative study of religions follows necessarily from that of the Christian religion, as we shall see. But it is as natural for us to start with the Bible as it would be for a Moslem, let us say, to start with the Koran. The goal is the main consideration.

kind of character and type of personality to be produced. In the New Testament, says Professor Jones, we find " an ideal of personality and character, capable of universal application, comprehensive enough to serve as the ultimate moral aim of all education. It is revealed, on the one hand, in the personality and character of Jesus Christ, and, on the other hand, in the Kingdom of God, combining in one coherent whole both the individual and the social aspects of the moral ideal." That, of course, is the conviction of thousands of educators in our own day, as it has been in all the twenty centuries of our era. The point so clearly brought out by Professor Jones is the natural relationship of the two ideals, so that " the teacher of the New Testament can still remain confident that he is betraying no educational principles when he is using its material for the direct and indirect presentation of moral and spiritual values, as well as of the means of reaching them." [1] If one were asked why diamonds are so greatly prized by their possessors it would be disingenuous to reply, because they cut glass, or because they represent a very pure form of carbon, or because they afford an example of a particularly interesting crystalline form. The undeniable fact is that their unique beauty makes its own appeal. This gives them a place of their own in the world of aesthetic values, and their worth to their owners is supremely this, unless those owners are egotistic vulgarians who take a pride in possessing something that costs so much money as to be beyond the reach of most other people. So, too, the study of the Bible takes its place among other studies first of all because it is a direct means of discovering those spiritual values with which education is

[1] *The New Testament in Modern Education* (1922), pp. 9, 10, 13. After showing what modern educational theories owe to the teaching and influence of the New Testament itself (despite the fact that the Church has often proved so laggard in its own application of these principles), the Professor goes on to evaluate the contents of the New Testament as material for the education, more particularly, of adolescents. He writes, of course, chiefly for the student as teacher, rather than with the ordinary adult student in view, but his conclusions are equally applicable to both.

ultimately concerned,[1] and not because of secondary avenues —literary, historical, psychological, ethical, and so forth— that it may open up. The point is that this study is essentially a form of education, just as the direct use of music, painting, or architecture is recognised to be.

We owe to the Report on *The Teaching of English in England* the phrase " the Bible as a means of education." This is due to more than an enthusiasm for the linguistic beauty of the Authorised Version, which, as the Report says : " though a translation from an Eastern original, is a true part of English literature—has indeed been described as ' the most majestic thing in our literature and the most spiritually living thing we inherit.' " The Bible is declared by this Committee to be " the one great piece of literature which for centuries gave something of a common form, a common dignity, to the thought and speech of the people." [2] If this is so, and most people will admit that it is, the ideas of the Bible, the story of rich and varied human experience giving rise to those ideas, and the study of the background

[1] " Starting from the primary fact of the religious impulse in man, and keeping in their place the secondary facts about the developing symbolisms through which men have sought to satisfy that impulse, we can trace through Biblical history an ascending scale of religious values, always distinguishing the right spiritual emergence from the crudities and flaws of its expression. To do this is to enable children to see religion as an essential activity of the human spirit, interwoven with the other activities of life." Kenneth Richmond, *op. cit.* p. 173. Cf. Sir H. Newbolt in *Education and Life* (Ed. Dale, 1924).

[2] Pp. 340, 310. Cf. Quiller Couch on the Authorised Version, " which not only intrinsically but historically is out and away the greatest book of English prose." *On the Art of Writing* (Pocket Edn., 1923), pp. 108-116, etc. *On the Art of Reading* (Pocket Edn., 1924), pp. 126, 145, 157, etc. Treating analytically the Book of Job, Professor Quiller Couch says : " Structurally a great poem ; historically a great poem ; philosophically a great poem ; so rendered for us in noble English diction as to be worthy in any comparison of diction, structure, ancestry, thought ! Why should we not study it in our English School, if only for the purpose of comparison ? " and he endorses Lord Latymer's judgment that " there is nothing comparable with it except the *Prometheus Bound* of Aeschylus," pp. 182-183.

against which this great drama is played, must have influenced the thought and action of our forefathers as powerfully as the melody, simplicity and strength of its language charmed their ears and shaped their spoken and written style. The influence of the Reformation in Europe upon political and religious thought is a commonplace of the historians. What John Knox did for Scotland in concentrating the attention of the common people upon the Bible and upon the theology which he and his contemporaries derived from it is manifest to-day in the story of the schools and universities of Scotland since his time ; the education for which Scottish people have been willing to sacrifice so much has put within their reach the leadership which they so frequently enjoy in the realms not only of philosophy, science and administration, but also of industry and commerce. Undoubtedly this is to a great extent because that education was inspired by the democratic ideas that permeate the Bible, and characterised by the intellectual thoroughness demanded by the effort to state and solve theological problems. We have only to recall the civilising work of the friars in England during the fourteenth century, or the social reforms that followed the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth, to obtain yet other instances of the way in which the thought of the Bible has shaped the life of the community even when, as in the first case, the Book itself was not available in the common tongue and was known only at second hand even to a large number of the friars themselves, or when, as in the second, the mass of the people were too illiterate to read the English version for themselves.

The value of the Bible and of those subjects of study that are inseparably connected with it will be found to be no less to-day, from the point of view of general adult education, than it was at these other periods. But it is frequently overlooked, as we have already observed, by reason of either prejudice or carelessness and ignorance. Moreover, as the Headmaster of Eton has recently said, " Our teaching of the Old Testament has been

disastrous." [1] The loss that results has been the frequent theme of distinguished contemporary educationists. We do not need to go back to Matthew Arnold or Mark Pattison to be told what the book may yield to discerning minds.[2]

The Old Testament is, to begin with, a mine of folk-lore and a mirror of the institutions of primitive society in certain well-defined stages. The researches of such scholars as Professor W. Robertson Smith and Sir James Frazer [3] (to name only two of those that are accessible to the ordinary English reader) have demonstrated the value of the Biblical records from this point of view, and have related them to the main body of ascertained facts and current theories in

[1] *Education and Religion*, p. 108. Dr. Alington has himself shown how the Old Testament (and by inference the New) might be taught in his little book, *Why We Read the Old Testament* (1924).

[2] A year after this chapter was written the author came across the following passage, familiar of course to many readers, though till then unknown to him: "In old days it used to be the fashion to read the Bible. The man who knew one book thoroughly, and that book the Bible, had no contemptible education. The Bible contains, in the most noble and purest language, a complete literature, a complete picture of national and individual life. Legend and history, poetry, drama, rhetoric, philosophy, law, geography, human nature, all are there. And with them a hope, a vision, a plan of life. Even the secondary authorities have been inspired; somewhere in the range from John Bunyan through Hooker and Jeremy Taylor to John Henry Newman very diverse minds will find congenial instruction. But, putting exegesis aside, it is partly because we have stopped reading our Bible that many modern educational devices are needed." Stanley Leathes, *What is Education?* p. 128. Sanderson "used to say indeed of the Bible that it was the only book for which he had any respect." In his last public utterance, on the day of his death, he said in his address to the National Union of Scientific Workers: "One of the greatest tragedies scientific men have allowed is for others to steal the Bible from them. The Old and New Testaments, with their record of progressive revelation, form the most scientific book ever seen. Yet scientific men have allowed a certain type of man to steal it from them. Bible stealing is an old thing, and one favourite method is to bind it in morocco and put it on a top shelf." *Sanderson of Oundle*, pp. 175, 357.

[3] Cf. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* (New Edn. 1907). Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament* (Popular Edn. 1923).

this field. The interdependence of tribal and family customs, of government and the law of property, of agricultural practices and domestic arrangements, even of personal and public hygiene, on the one hand, and religious beliefs and rites, on the other, is clearly marked. The anthropologist and the archaeologist find here no mean sphere for close and fruitful study, and are naturally carried on to a comparison of what they learn with their knowledge of other primitive peoples in quite other parts of the world.

The psychologist, too, discovers in the early books of the Old Testament a singularly arresting and vivid characterisation of types of behaviour that are permanent in human life. But unlike the student of primitive beliefs and customs, he can continue his observations and his efforts at analysis throughout the whole of both the Old Testament and the New. Modern psychology has learned a great deal about normal processes from the investigation of abnormal cases. Here, however, though there are instances of the abnormal in religious experience, the great majority of the material consists of perfectly normal but particularly strongly marked developments in both the individual and the group. These, in such cases as those of Amos, Jeremiah, John the Baptist, or Paul, are authentically biographical—in many instances reliably autobiographical. Furthermore, they are presented in a wonderfully full range of historical, social, political and personal circumstances. There is probably no one series of original documents which carries the student over such a long period of the world's history, and presents him with such a rich gallery of psychological portraits drawn from each stage of its development, as that constituted by the Bible. It is sufficient to read such books as William James' *Varieties of Religious Experience*, studies of the mystics like those made by Evelyn Underhill,[1] or other essays in this subject, to realise how much they suffer from lack of historical extensiveness and sufficient variety of type. Even where the Bible affords sketches of semi-

[1] As also, of course, by Baron von Hügel, Dean Inge, Dom Cuthbert Butler, and others.

mythical heroes like Abraham and Jacob, or obviously dramatised presentations of certain overwhelming kinds of human experience, as in the case of Ruth or Job, these are uniquely true to the situations in which everyday men and women find themselves. Preachers and Bible-class leaders for generations have realised that these elements in Bible study have proved invaluable in winning response from those to whom they spoke. An undoubted reason is that they have been occupied (generally unconsciously) with psychology as much as with ethics, theology, or personal religion. The place of the psychology of religious experience in anything like a complete study of psychology as a whole is now becoming clearly recognised. Dr. Oskar Pfister, in his book on *Psycho-Analysis in the Service of Education*, reminds us that religious experience is a demonstrable and important force which has value for more than its own sake. It is of interest to the psychologist objectively, as a particular variety of process, conscious and unconscious, which does actually occur and must therefore not be omitted or disparaged by the investigator, whatever may be his metaphysical interpretation of it. But it has also direct reactions, both positive and negative, upon other forces which he may be more inclined to regard as normal and universal in men and women. "Religion," says Dr. Pfister, "reveals a world of duty, a field of activity. Without religion the vital impulse of a number of people would be forced on morally dangerous paths capable of bringing about new complications. Everybody does not attain to this religious attitude. C. J. Jung has said, 'Religion is an integral part of every soul that is not crippled.' This much may be said. A large number of atheists who had put aside faith in God as something *passée* and superfluous, particularly several medical men, have learnt to appreciate anew the grandeur of religion in taking up psycho-analysis." [1]

[1] *Op. cit.* (English trans. 1922), p. 147. Dr. Selbie discusses Freud, Jung, and Tansley, and remarks: "There is no sort of antagonism between religion and psychology, though there may be between certain forms of religion and certain philosophical con-

Nor, of course, is the Bible the only source of material for this important study. The history of Christianity and the biographies and writings of Christian men and women for nineteen centuries yield a vast store of material for the psychologist, reflecting every stage of human development in thought and action since the days of the planting of the Church in Asia and in Europe, and exemplifying the psychological reaction between all this mental and spiritual growth and the creative experience of Jesus Christ and the first disciples as it has been transmitted to men from one generation to another.

Mr. D. C. Somervell, in the preface to his admirable *Short History of our Religion*, expresses the opinion that "what makes 'Bible history' worth studying at all is the religious history, and the rest is only useful in so far as it explains that." [1] It is certainly true that neither the Old Testament nor the New deals with the progress of great empires in any direct way. Those books of the Old Testament which treat primarily of political and social history are concerned with a small nation at a time when it was not so intimately related to the greater peoples on its borders as it subsequently became. Truth to tell, the narrative is petty in style, and one feels that these writers have nothing in common with the pictorial accuracy of a Tacitus or the splendidly careless imaginativeness of a Herodotus. They

clusions based upon psychology. When Freudians claim that their psychology issues in determinism, or when others resolve religious experience into auto-suggestion, they are going beyond their province as psychologists and entering the realm of philosophy." *Op. cit.* p. 286.

[1] *Op. cit.* (1922), p. v. Cf. *The Cambridgeshire Syllabus of Religious Teaching for Schools* (p. 7): "Yet the great worth of the Bible is not in its beautiful stories, nor in its collective excellence of style. The Bible is great history. It tells one onward-flowing story, more and more arresting attention, informed with a profound though unpretentious philosophy, revealing such a purpose in the drama of the world as can only be called divine. . . . All is real. The actors are living men, kings, prophets, statesmen, people, Jesus of Nazareth and his disciples and apostles."

cannot be said to compel our attention or to give us information of prime importance. The writers of the Hexateuch, of part of the Histories, and of the Prophetic and the Apocalyptic Books, on the other hand, make us feel that they are concerned with forces which mould history and shape the destinies of men far beyond their own time and place. We catch glimpses of a world-setting, though the student who wishes to deal thoroughly both with these books themselves and with the period out of which they sprang must needs have recourse also to the " secular " historians of Babylon and Egypt, Assyria and Persia, Greece and Rome. As we have already observed in another connection, we cannot really separate the one from the other. Whichever we choose as our starting-point we find ourselves led to the other. The same is true with regard to the New Testament and its historical background,[1] while we are too prone to overlook the special historical value and the rich human interest of the books that belong to the Old Testament Apocrypha and the apocalyptic books of that period.[2]

But if, to the student of world history, the contribution of the Bible may appear small in quantity and useful chiefly as indicating the origin of movements and forces that had

[1] " In establishing all these facts about the New Testament, modern study has also succeeded in revealing to us a great deal of the whole concrete world from and into which the Christian Religion and the New Testament itself came, the world in which the Christian Gospel had to dwell, with which it became united in detail and whose problems it set out to solve. They are the Jewish, the Oriental, the Greek and the Roman world of the time—in language, thought, morality, religion, politics and social conditions. Into this world, the Gospel, the Christian ideal and power, were thrown ' like ferment into the pot.' The result is that what we have in the New Testament is the Gospel, not in the abstract or as a set of theoretical principles, but in a multitude of concrete forms and concrete relations. So far as the New Testament is concerned, the Gospel has no reality except as it takes shape in definite historical circumstances, men and societies." J. Morgan Jones, *op. cit.* p. 30.

[2] All that has been said above with regard to the Bible as material for adult education presupposes an adequate supply of skilled and enthusiastic teachers—a problem considered in ch. vi. *infra.*

certain effects upon the more mighty nations of the ancient world, we may at least draw attention to the fact of the unique quality of those forces, to the way in which the mighty nations, after temporary triumphs over the tiny kingdom that gave expression to these new ideas about God and the relationship of men to Him, and to each other, were broken by the sheer truth and vitality of the experience and the teaching that they had despised or derided. The ultimate conquest of the Roman Empire by Christianity, however superficial in its extensive aspect, was intensively the supreme demonstration of the power of the spiritual over the material. Our main point here is simply to state the case for the study of the historic elements in the Bible as an indispensable preliminary to any true understanding of how the world came to be what it is. Whatever may be the view of the student with regard to the validity of Christianity for our own day, or the prospects of Christianity as the ultimate religion of mankind, there is in the Bible, and in the relation of its contents to the history contemporary with the events that it records and the experiences that it embodies, a subject which both demands and admits of as impartial a study as the history of Greece, of the Renaissance, or of the Industrial Revolution. It is in fact as far from being merely an instrument of propaganda or a specialist's hobby as is the history of Europe since 1815. Until our Universities, and to a still greater degree our Education Authorities, to say nothing of our Churches, recognise this, the interests of education as a whole must continue to suffer.

In a passage following closely upon the one quoted above, Mr. Somervell remarks: "We have far too much limited 'Divinity' teaching to 'Bible' teaching. This limitation encourages, it may be unconsciously, but none the less really, the most unfortunate and unchristian idea that the relations of God and man, if they did not actually terminate round about 100 A.D., became after that date something very much less close and vital than before. We have a 'Bible period,' in which God acted openly and directly,

when religion must have been, it would seem, a comparatively easy matter, and a post-Biblical period when the existence of Divinity was so much less obvious, and the relations of God and man were so entirely changed, that lessons drawn from the Biblical period could only have a very indirect applicability to ourselves." [1] This has stimulated him to attempt, with almost brilliant success, "a continuous history of religious development along a single line from the primitive foundations laid by Moses down to the present day." In doing so he has shown how the subject does not lose anything of living interest when it is handled with strict avoidance of partisan treatment. Church History is of one piece with the history contained in the Bible, and we consider it at another point in the present chapter, instead of immediately, only for reasons of convenience. But the unity of the two must be kept in view.

Dealing still with the Bible itself, we need do little more than refer to its value as a basis for the study of fine literature and poetry. From Matthew Arnold to Sir Arthur Quiller Couch our most eminent modern critics and men of letters have urged this upon us. Sir Henry Newbolt and his Committee on the Teaching of English have gone almost out of their way to re-affirm it, and to press the point upon those responsible for the teaching given in our schools, colleges, and voluntary societies for adult education as one requiring definite action, and not merely theoretical approval, on their part. In true literature there can be no separation between nobility of thought and beauty of expression. The fit word is fit simply because it and no other will communicate some experience or interpretation that has abiding values for life. If you try to divorce the soul of human passion and conviction from the body of human speech, the body drops dead, and the soul wanders vaguely and vainly in the realm of the shades. Here, again, the Bible occupies a place of its own in the education of all who would know what fulness of human living means. Despite the riches of

[1] *A Short History of Our Religion*, p. vi.

all the literature of all the other ages and races in the world, the poetry and prose of the Old Testament, the lyricism and poignancy of the New, the idealism and the humanism, shot through with amazing simplicity and sincerity, which we find in both, can never be displaced from literature, and ought never to be neglected on the supposition that their value is for those alone who have a highly specialised religious interest or a propagandist purpose.

The theology and ethics of the Bible offer another field of unsuspected interest to the ordinary student, and certainly no general survey of either metaphysics or ethics can be considered complete if these are ignored. They form a natural starting-point for discussion of the wider ranges of the philosophy of life and conduct for those who begin as Christians. Perhaps they may make a less strong initial appeal to others than do the aspects of the Bible to which we have already referred. But their importance is not less. One has known of men who had a sort of passion for academic discussions of the Biblical theories of the nature of God and of men, of the Pauline doctrine of the Will or the Johannine philosophy of Immanence, while taking no interest in religion as such. They may be classed with those others whose hobby is the Hebrew language or the study of New Testament Greek, though they remain strangely unmoved (or at least apparently so) by the thought that informs the passages which they love to read and re-read. In any case they are rare birds and not attractive. Once again, our sole purpose here is to point out that the Bible presents a legitimate and valuable field of study to those who perceive in it no collection of strange and inharmonious dogmas, for the most part entirely uninteresting, if not repellent, to the modern mind, but a record of deep movements of thought and experience on the part of men who sought, as Lucretius, or Cicero, or Plato sought, to solve the problems that face men and women of every age. They claimed to have found a solution for all ages. Inasmuch as so many of the ablest thinkers and the most powerful personalities in every generation since have assented to that claim, the most

obvious ideals of education must require that men and women of to-day should at least examine its content.

As to ethics, whether that of the Minor Prophets, that of the Sermon on the Mount, that of the thirteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, or that of the Epistle of James, it cannot be denied that the New Testament contains a body of principles not lightly to be set aside even though, as yet, not fully understood in all their implications, and that until the world is satisfied that its social life has attained the level which its instinct for the best perpetually demands, those whose education is to include a study of the basis for personal and social conduct should at least consider this one as carefully as they consider those perceptible in the writings of Rousseau or Mill, Comte or Marx, H. G. Wells or Bertrand Russell.

With regard to the languages of the Bible, or the critical studies required for a due appreciation of its structure and growth, these may seem to be of purely technical importance. Their value is, of course, primarily that of enabling the student to get at the contents of the books for himself in the most direct way. But they have an interest of their own, and there is no reason why they should be looked upon as the preserve of the professional—the parson, the theological professor, or the teacher. Their value is at least as great as that of similar studies in the classical or modern languages, while they challenge the finest ability and equipment that the student can bring to the mastery of them. From the purely educational point of view they make no mean contribution, on the part of the Church and other bodies specially concerned with them, to the educational resources of the community.[1]

We have already seen that the study of the Bible necessarily involves examination of much that is regarded as

[1] This is particularly so in view of the fact that modern scholars, like Moulton and Deissmann (cf. *Light from the Ancient East*, English trans. 1907) have shown that the Greek of the New Testament was the Greek of the common people—of commerce, correspondence, and conversation, in the first and second centuries of the Christian Era.

belonging to the secular sphere of enquiry. Still more does it demand the study of certain subjects which may seem distinct from it, and yet which are genetically related to it. These subjects, just like the Bible itself, have a claim to a place in the educational scheme on their own merits, and not merely because of their importance on narrower grounds of religious edification, defence of the faith, or extension of propaganda. Further, it must not be forgotten that our theme is the study of religion and not simply the study of the Bible. This takes us at once beyond the borders of Christianity. History is one long tale of the evolution of religions, from superstitions so infantile and sometimes so degrading that religion appears to be a wholly inappropriate term for them, to philosophies so abstruse and transcendental that they are almost incomprehensible. They have given rise directly to literatures, ethical systems, types of social organisation, forms of government, distinctive levels of personal and group experience. If "the proper study of mankind is man," no serious student will turn aside from this fertile province. But before we look more closely at it, we ought to touch upon those subjects which are, as we have just said, genetically related to the Christian religion.

Such a subject is that generally known by the misleading title of Church History. We take up here the suggestion made by Mr. Somervell. "Church History," except upon the narrowest and most arid interpretation, includes far more than the story of the growth and activities of the organised society known as the Church (and including, of course, all the denominations or sections that have grown up within it). Actually it covers something for which perhaps Harnack's title for his great book, *The Expansion of Christianity*,[1] is a more expressive and adequate phrase. Even this may not indicate all that comes within the true scope of the subject, for, as Dr. Garvie once remarked, the permeation of society with Christian ideas and motives must also be taken into account.

[1] Eng. trans. 1904.

Perhaps it may be said in objection to this widening of the theme that it comes to mean nothing short of the history of the whole world in all its aspects since the time of Christ. It may be urged that at least the story of the organised Church and its recognisable off-shoots, together with its more direct reactions to and upon social and political life, forms a definite and compassable topic. We may be accused, if we take the wider view, of seizing surreptitiously upon all knowledge as merely contributory to the understanding of one part to which we have given an arbitrary pre-eminence, or of confusing history with philosophy. Be that as it may, logic compels us to admit that if Christianity is and has been a living force in the personal and social life of men, it cannot properly be studied from the point of view of its organised and official expression alone.

Just as political history has been misconceived and falsely presented as a matter of wars and treaties, dynasties and conquests, revolutions and reactions, and little more, so the history of the Church (especially in the narrower sense) has stood to most people for a miserable, or at least a mystifying, tale of credal controversies and ecclesiastical conflicts, of attempts to gain temporal power and efforts to sweep the multitude into the Kingdom of Heaven on a wave of emotional excitement. Perhaps it is more difficult in these days, when both the " establishment " and the " freedom " of the Church appear to the plain man to have the same effect of driving it out of practical and serviceable relationships with the world of every day, to realise how closely the life of the Christian community and that of society at large have been bound up together almost ever since the time of the first Christian missionaries. That relationship is best symbolised in the names of notable saints and martyrs, popes and emperors, leaders of democratic movements, artists, poets and philosophers, scientists and politicians, adventurers and captains of industry, protagonists of the working-classes, educationists, leaders of great humanitarian efforts for the removal of abuses and the reconstruction of society on the basis of respect for personality and service of

the community.[1] Whence did most of them derive their ideals, their driving force, their human sympathy and common sense, their power of appeal or of effective and sustained resistance? To begin to recite illustrative instances would be to fill a page with names alone. The point for us at the moment is that these men and women, typical of the religious movements with which they were associated, cannot be treated like plants in a herbarium. The stream of influence which they represent has a reality in itself. It is as true and valid a subject for study as, let us say, industrial history or the theory and practice of monarchy, and it concerns the genuine student of human life and affairs just as fully. It has been regarded as proper to the organised Church, and of interest to the Church (or her bitterest antagonists!) alone. Nothing could be further from a sound educational point of view, or from the historical standpoint of the recognition of spiritual values in human affairs. But the probability is that the Church herself is largely to blame in so far as she has not made clear the nature of the contribution she has to offer in this field, has not handled the subject herself in a broad and forceful fashion, and has not won for it the enthusiasm of her own adherents.

The study of modern Christian Missions has made great advance in the course of the last twenty years, as we shall see in another chapter. It may cause some surprise if this subject is put forward as one of independent educational value. Some people may consider the activities of the Churches and Missionary Societies in this respect as nothing more than an unusually adroit adaptation of a valuable educational method to an undeniably propagandist campaign. A little knowledge of the method actually followed, and of the textbooks specially prepared and almost universally used, will speedily remove so wrong an impression. The aim is to induce and help people to acquire for themselves, and in co-operation with one another, a knowledge

[1] Cf. Copec *Report*, vol. xii. on *Historical Illustrations of the Social Effects of Christianity* (1924).

of the relevant facts, leaving them to draw their own conclusions as the result of careful thought and full discussion. Any one of the textbooks prepared for adults will be found to involve, in a degree corresponding to the standard of the course (for the books are graded), a study of the geographical situation, and often of the anthropological facts, concerning a given people or groups of peoples, their religions and their literature, their history and social customs, their forms of government and relationships (industrial and commercial, as well as racial and political) with other peoples. The fundamental questions connected with the study of philosophy and the comparative study of religions soon appear upon the horizon of the student. The Race Question, the Colour Problem, the questions of Nationalism and Internationalism, present themselves before he has gone very far. Economic and industrial relationships call for investigation and judgment. He has to weigh the fundamental things in his own religion as over against those elements which may perhaps prove to be of secondary importance. He has to face the defects of Christian civilisation as we know it, and make up his mind as to whether these are due to any inherent weakness in Christianity itself, or whether they are due to our partial understanding and application of it. Above all, he must try to understand the psychology and appreciate the tradition of other peoples in a way that will deliver him from the superior or patronising spirit. He must ascertain and welcome the contribution that people whom he may till now have considered inferior have to make to the common weal of the world and to the establishment of the Kingdom of God as Jesus taught it. He has to place himself alongside the men or women charged to interpret Jesus Christ to those of lands other than their own, often in face of the practical denial in their own land of the principles which they are proclaiming. Problems of administration and statesmanship, too, will come within his ken. From the policy of a Carey or a Morrison, based on a belief in education as the supreme instrument to be used by the Spirit of God in regenerating a vast society like that of

India or China ; the splendid strategy of a Livingstone, whose persistent daring as an explorer was the outcome of his determination to open up a path for commerce that would lead to the destruction of the slave-traffic in Central Africa ; or the courage and wisdom of a Chalmers in handling both brown cannibals and white governors in New Guinea,[1] to the modern enterprise of establishing a trained indigenous medical profession in China,[2] helping to solve the problem of the outcaste millions in India by means of agricultural training and co-operative credit banks,[3] and assisting to develop an educational system adequate to the needs of a population numbering three hundred millions,[4] there are materials for studies that would not demean a university. Yet they are concerned primarily with Christianity in action at the present time.[5]

Another subject of wide range and great educational value is that of Christian Sociology. Perhaps this is still rather a field for research and constructive effort than a well-marked province of knowledge. As Mr. M. B. Reckitt and others have lately been reminding us, the mediaeval Church derived its sociology from its theology, and a weakness of Christian

[1] Cf. W. Allen Young, *Christianity and Civilisation in the South Pacific* (1922).

[2] Cf. Harold Balme, *China and Modern Medicine* (1921).

[3] Cf. Reports of K. T. Paul to the Indian National Council of Y.M.C.A.s.

[4] Cf. A. G. Fraser and other members' Report of a Commission of Enquiry—*Village Education in India* (1920). Cf. also T. J. Jones and other members of African Education Commission's Report on *Education in Africa* (1922) and *Christian Education in China* (1922), being a Report of the Educational Commission representing Mission Boards, etc., in China.

[5] The book recently published by Mr. J. H. Oldham, Secretary of the International Missionary Council and Editor of the *International Review of Missions*, under the title *Christianity and the Race Problem* (1924), shows the quality of the contribution to profound thought on such subjects from the biological, political, and economic, as well as the ethical and religious, points of view which may be expected in increasing measure from such sources. This is continually demonstrated by writers of articles in the *Review*.

thought and action in our own time has been that the ideals and proposals of Christian people with regard to economic social, political and international life have not been developed as they should be from the convictions of progressive Christian men and women about the nature of God and of humanity.[1] A recent study of the efforts made by men of a generation ago to think out and work out a genuinely Christian society gives rise to the suggestion that this subject has a place in education at least equal to that of the *Republic* of Plato, St. Augustine's *City of God*, or the work of the thinkers and men of action during the Renaissance, the Reformation, or the French Revolution.[2]

Our investigation of the Christian religion as a far-reaching and fruitful subject of study must suffice as an indication of what may be found in the field of religion as a whole. As an illustration it is a fair one. Pursuit of the topic in detail is impossible in the space at our disposal. Casual reference to such a work as the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* will show at once the immensity and the variety of the material awaiting the student, and the way in which he will constantly find himself led by the study of religion to consider other aspects of human thought and experience—scientific, historical, philosophical, economic, political, aesthetic, and so forth. It could not be otherwise, inasmuch as truth is one, human experience is a unity in diversity, and men live by their loves and loyalties—by those spiritual values which it is the task of education to make plain and which are discovered in the sphere of religion with a directness and a sense of satisfaction attainable only on the level of contact with the supreme reality.

We have been concerned in this chapter with the intrinsic interest and value of religion as a subject of study. It is in one sense true that "a man's politics, like his religion, are his own business and nobody else's." There is an inner side

[1] Cf. M. B. Reckitt, *Your Part in the Kingdom* (1922). See also *The Return of Christendom* (1922), being a volume of essays by several writers.

[2] Cf. C. E. Raven, *Christian Socialism*, 1848-1854 (1920).

to both which is a matter of personal conviction and responsibility. That aspect is of supreme and vital importance, though this is not the place in which to dwell upon it. But neither ends there. No one would be content with a view of politics so individualist and atomist as to deny that the social aspect is equally important. Indeed, it is because politics can have no existence apart from society that the study of politics has a universal significance. There is a science of politics, no less than there is a science of biology. It can be distinguished from the predilections of the individual or the propaganda of a party, and when so distinguished is at once recognised as having a place of its own in that knowledge and appraisement of human experience which is education. But as truly as man is a political animal is he a religious animal. The study of human life from that standpoint is just as illuminating and just as indispensable as the study of it in its political aspect. To dismiss religion as a purely private matter with which the individual alone is concerned is evidence of crass confusion of thought. To say that it is without importance as a subject of education is to be blinded by the eccentricities of individuals and deafened by the clamour of the sects. Worse still, such a position marks failure to perceive what human life, whether personal or social, really is. Neglect of so rich a heritage for both mind and heart, or deliberate rejection of it through misunderstanding of its nature and extent, means sheer mutilation of education. And this is supremely true in that field of education where unfortunately the neglect or rejection most frequently takes place—the field of adult education.

But to stop short with this plea for the study of religion as a valid, worthy, and unsuspectedly extensive field for exploration by the adult student is to do that study an injustice. This is not remedied even by exhibiting the close relationship between it and other studies more generally followed. The one point that remains for our attention comes with all the more force because it is so frequently urged by eminent students concerned primarily with other subjects.

Discussing the ultimate sources of our beliefs in religion and ethics, Dr. J. A. Hadfield has recently said that the craving of the whole personality for completeness and satisfaction is the real psychological basis for religion. On the same occasion Professor J. S. Haldane declared that, while biology conflicted with certain details of theological dogma, the real basis of religion lay within our own conscious experience. "If it is true," he said, "that the reality of the universe is spiritual, it is no less true that we are constantly struggling with illusion and imperfection, and it is only in that struggle that spiritual reality manifests itself to us. . . . Scientific investigation is just part of the struggle in which spiritual reality manifests itself, and the realisation of this brings science, particularly pure science, very near to religion. It is only when science becomes dogmatic that it assumes an attitude which seems to deny the existence of spiritual reality." [1] In a remarkable little book forecasting the progress of scientific research, and the application of its results, within the next two or three generations, Mr. J. B. S. Haldane pictures man in possession of physical and intellectual powers of a terrifying character, and then remarks: "The question of what he will do with these powers is essentially a question for religion and aesthetic." [2] In other words, psychologists, biologists, and bio-chemists alike are telling us that both the completion of their respective types of research and the practical problems created by the results

[1] Papers on "Psychology and Religion" and "Biology and Religion" read to the Conference of Modern Churchmen at Oxford, 1924. *The Modern Churchman* for Sept. 1924, pp. 337, 280-281. Prof. Haldane says also: "For religion the world, whether visible or invisible, is the manifestation of God. The real basis of religion lies in our conscious experience, in our awareness of values which determine the course of our existence and unite us all, but which cannot be derived from either individual or collective self-interest. In so far as we realise these values, their objective validity, and their unity, we acknowledge, whether we are aware of it or not, that our universe is a spiritual universe, and the manifestation of one God." *Ibid.* p. 269.

[2] *Daedalus* (1924), p. 82.

they have already achieved make the study of religion the indispensable and crowning part of education as an endeavour to understand ourselves and the universe in order that we may live in fullest accordance with our nature.

The same conviction is found emerging among sociologists. Professor L. T. Hobhouse's work is shot through with references to the ethico-religious development of mankind as influencing social progress, and though he accepts no religious creed he bases his constructive thought upon the value of personality and the principle of love as ultimate and eternal in the universe.[1] Clearly the study of what men have made of these in religious faith and practice is a necessary corollary of sociological study dominated by psychological and ethical interests such as he brings to it. Professor C. A. Ellwood, writing as a sociologist and a layman, points out that : " It is no accident that throughout human history religions have been used to diffuse the values, standards, and emotional attitudes which groups of men have believed to be necessary to control group behaviour and to secure a proper group morale "—no accident because " men participate most easily in the consciousness of the higher social values through religion." [2] He takes the view that " if we are to attain permanently to a social order which will repudiate self-interest and force and which will illustrate sympathy, love, and solidarity among men, it will have to be brought about mainly by a process of education," and regards religious education as " social education carried to the plane of the ideal and energized by socially idealistic emotional values." [3] But he maintains his position by showing in detail how Christianity, in his judgment, embodies an effective and satisfactory sociological principle, while in

[1] Cf. *The Rational Good* (1921), pp. 111, 119, 155, 159 ; *Social Development* (1924), pp. 217-245, etc. ; Essay in *Contemporary British Philosophy*, pp. 185-188.

[2] *Christianity and Social Science : A Challenge to the Church* (1923), p. 81.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 176. Cf. also his earlier book, *The Reconstruction of Religion : A Sociological View* (1922).

the Old Testament he finds valuable material for the study of development in primitive society. In short, he regards the study of religion as indispensable from the standpoint of sociology, and supremely so if that study is to be not merely historical and analytic, but constructive.

We need but refer to the relation which we have already seen to exist between the study of philosophy and the study of religion.[1] "Plato was surely right," says Prof. J. H. Muirhead, "in recognising that the complete philosopher could only come out of a complete education and experience." [2] Integral to that experience in the life of men has always been an element which can properly be described only as religion fully conscious or otherwise. In agreement with M. Durkheim and the well-known school of French sociologists that he represents, Prof. C. C. J. Webb points to the origin of the "categories," the fundamental notions which exist at the root of all our intellectual judgments, as religious. "They are principles of general classification," he says, "but the thought of the whole of the universe is primarily presented as a religious thought; and thus we find these 'categories' from the first associated with religious emotion. Man no doubt *does* go 'from religion to philosophy,' but this does not mean that philosophy is a persistence of outworn religious nonsense in the disguise of science, which the enlightened anthropologist will strip off the pretender to the great advantage of humanity": on the contrary, he says, "I do not think that Philosophy can flourish except in the soil of Religion. It is in Religion that we have the immediate consciousness of that which in Philosophy becomes, or strives to become, explicit." [3] That consciousness is not static, for it is alive. It grows. It is more than a purveyor of material for the philosophical mind to work upon. It is the whole personality in action at its highest level of awareness and response. It is an instrument of direct knowledge of reality which avails when the powers of science, art, and philosophy have reached their natural limits. And yet it

[1] Cf. pp. 69-72 *supra*. [2] *Contemporary British Philosophy*, p. 322.
[3] *Group Theories of Religion*, pp. 152, 189.

neither supersedes those powers nor contradicts the results of their use. For it is the spirit that animates them all even while it transcends them. The aim of all education must surely be to know reality in the fullest degree possible and to live in correspondence with it. If so, Prof. Pringle Pattison's words have great significance for every adult student. "It is the fundamental structure of reality which we are seeking to determine. For that surely is the meaning of all discussion as to the being and nature of God."[1] If we are to attain to a true scale of spiritual values in our interpretation of life we plainly must concern ourselves with "the best that has been known and thought in the world" in this sphere beyond all others. When Bergson was criticised on the ground that his theory of creative evolution is inadequate, he made answer that in the successive volumes which he has published he has gone from point to point as problems presented themselves, but that he has still this great province before him, and readily acknowledges the possibility of further developments of his doctrine upon the basis of an analysis of moral and religious experience.[2] Could we have a more convincing argument for the necessity of the study of religion as the crown and completion of the spiritual quest which we call education?

Here, then, within the limits of their own direct and special interests, the Church and kindred bodies have a great province which should be associated with others in the republic of learning. They can produce, as material for education, treasures that owe nothing to any accidental setting and that are the birthright of every man and nation. They come to participate in adult education, but not as mendicants or pensioners; they bring a rich contribution. And those who refuse to share it because of prejudice (perhaps as pardonable as it is explicable) against old dogma, fear for their own intellectual integrity, or passion for what is practical, are committing educationally the sin of Esau.

[1] *The Idea of God*, p. 411.

[2] A. S. Pringle Pattison: Letter of M. Bergson to M. Le Roy. *Op. cit.* p. 380.

PART II

A GLANCE AT HISTORY

VI

THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY BACKGROUND

If we are to form any judgment as to the worth of what men and women have done for the education of other men and women, or in pursuit of education for themselves, we need to know as far as possible why they have done it, and whether similar aims and motives both persist now and are likely to persist in the future. What in actual fact have been the possessions and possibilities in life which they have cherished most? By what scale of values have they been dominated in thought and deed? Such an enquiry obviously is not easy. But it is none the less essential. The formation of any constructive policy in adult education will demand far more than facility in suggestions about organisation and finance. It must be based upon a real understanding of men's hopes and fears, aspirations and purposes, with regard to life as they know it, and still more with regard to the kind of life they covet for themselves and for their fellows.

Philosophers sometimes rush in where historians fear to tread. It may be fatal to the philosopher, however, if he refuses to wait for the historian. We cannot determine the place of spiritual values in adult education by consideration of first principles alone. It would be futile to rest satisfied with an analysis of the meaning and the ideal purpose of adult education such as that attempted in the preceding chapters of this book apart from at least a glance at the story of adult education in England [1] since it took its rise

[1] This limitation is deliberate, but necessary in order to bring the enquiry undertaken in this volume within moderate compass.

amidst the changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution. An adequate history of adult education in England has yet to be written.[1] The materials are abundant and varied. The task is not only attractive, but also urgent. Unfortunately, we cannot undertake it in these pages. But we must keep the landmarks in view. The slightest acquaintance with the growth of the Movement, from the Birmingham Sunday Society of 1789 to the Women's Institutes or the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee of our own time, will show how often there were prophetic visions which even yet we have not transformed into realities, and stones of stumbling with which we are still all too familiar. Valuable studies of various enterprises in adult education have been

Historically Scotland and Wales were considerably before England in this field. To take only one instance from each, Dr. Birkbeck, through the beneficence of Dr. Anderson, gave the initial impulse to the Mechanics' Institute Movement in Glasgow between twenty and thirty years before the London Mechanics' Institute was founded in 1823, while in Wales Griffith Jones, and later Thomas Charles, initiated and fostered adult schools during two full generations before the Nottingham School was started in 1798 and the Bristol one in 1812. A variety of conditions, religious and educational, political and social, differing widely from those in England, affected the origin and growth of adult education in Scotland and Wales, and require separate, if parallel, study.

[1] Dr. J. W. Hudson's *History* appeared in 1851. In 1906 *The Co-operative Wholesale Society's Annual* contained (pp. 259-298) " A Survey of Working-class Educational Movements in England and Scotland " by Mr. Albert Mansbridge, which was also published as a pamphlet, but is now out of print. Sir Michael Sadler has a valuable outline of the history of adult education in *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere* (1907), pp. 1-104. A concise historical sketch is given in the Ministry of Reconstruction Adult Education Committee's *Final Report*, 1919, now, unhappily, out of print. A still briefer summary will be found in the present writer's *An Educated Nation* (1920), pp. 39-48. The general histories of education—even the best of them—ignore the history of adult education, or at most devote a page or two to it in passing. Prof. Helen Wodehouse, in *A Survey of the History of Education* (1924), has a special section on adult education proportionate to the scale of the book and, therefore, touching only upon three or four outstanding events. *Op. cit.* pp. 206-211.

made,[1] and Mr. A. E. Dobbs [2] has surveyed the whole development of adult education in England up to the year 1850 from one point of view. When we have all the parts put before us in due perspective, we shall find that there is much to be learnt from the adventures, the successes, and the failures of other days. Meantime, for our immediate purpose it is happily possible to try in brief to show the emergence of certain principles from the outstanding evidence in the story. If adult education is "a spiritual activity," a co-operative effort of teachers and students to elucidate spiritual values, there must now, after nearly a hundred and fifty years of varied experience, be some historical ground for establishing its claim to that description. This will still be true even if "things which are seen were not made of things which do appear."

The three earliest ventures of adult education in England of which we have records appear to have been isolated experiments. Two years after the foundation of the S.P.C.K. an entry was made in Minutes of the Society for March 8th, 1700, commemorating "the public Services of John Pierson and John Reynolds." The former, in addition to teaching poor children to read, "twice in the week meets another Company of adult persons (about 8 in number) in the town, and hears them read, and trains them up in Bp. Williams' Exposition of the Church Catechism. The Latter Instructs Gratis another Company every night at his House, in the Catechism, in Reading and Serious Principles, and endeavours to bring them to an awful sense of God and man." [3] Next comes the Birmingham Sunday Society, "formed by the teachers in Sunday Schools in Birmingham in the year 1789, having for its object the education of young men in writing and arithmetic after they ceased to attend the

[1] *E.g.* Dr. Mansbridge's *University Tutorial Classes* (1913) and *An Adventure in Working Class Education* (1920).

[2] *Education and Social Movements*, 1700-1850 (1919), carried further by the same writer in his "Historical Survey," *Cambridge Essays on Adult Education* (1920), pp. 35-63.

[3] Quoted by Dr. Helen Wodehouse, *op. cit.* p. 142.

Sunday Schools"; [1] this was later known as the Birmingham Brotherly Society, which included the little group nicknamed the "Cast Iron Philosophers." The third is the Adult Sunday School "for Bible reading and instruction in the secular arts of writing and arithmetic, opened in a room belonging to the Methodist New Connection in Nottingham by William Singleton, himself a Methodist, who had help from a Quaker tailor, Samuel Fox" in 1798.[2] Adult education in England really began, as a definite movement, in the adult school founded in Bristol in 1812 by William Smith, a doorkeeper of a Methodist Chapel. It was in 1903 that Albert Mansbridge founded the Workers' Educational Association and thereby created a new era of adult education in England. We shall have subsequently to go with much greater detail into the development of the movement during the twentieth century. In taking our brief glance at history, therefore, we may for the present confine ourselves to this previous period, marked by so many critical events, not only in the history of adult education but also in the life of the people in all its aspects—the nineteenth century.

The hundred years between the starting of the Adult Schools and the foundation of the Workers' Educational Association reveal a steady development from the desire of people belonging to the upper and middle classes to provide education for the poor to the determination of the working classes to secure higher education for themselves. Viscount Grey has described adult education as "the education that people get for themselves when other people consider that they have been educated." [3] When William Smith and his friends began their work, it was supply that stimulated demand. Both supply and demand were concerned with

[1] J. W. Hudson, *History of Adult Education* (1851), pp. 29, 30. See also James Hole, *An Essay on the History and Management of Literary, Scientific and Mechanics' Institutions* (1853), p. 6; A. E. Dobbs, *Education and Social Movements*, 1700-1850 (1919), p. 141.

[2] J. Wilhelm Rowntree and Henry Bryan Binns, *The History of the Adult School Movement* (1903), p. 10.

[3] *The Times*, Nov. 24, 1923. Cf. also *The Way Out* (1923), p. 4.

teaching those men and women to read and write who had had no opportunity of learning during their childhood. As time went on the demand changed, not only in quantity, but in quality also. Working people in the middle of the nineteenth century began to ask for a knowledge of science and an enjoyment of literature, together with an insight into the principles of economics and politics. By this time, too, the supply had become more generous in character. University men began to perceive the value, as much to themselves as to those whom they taught, of sharing as widely as possible the treasures of the university. The establishment of the Working Men's College in London in 1854 introduced a new note into the movement. "We are not an Extension Lecture or a Night School. Our lecture system differs even from the lecture system of Oxford and Cambridge in that there is no distinction of college or academic rank between teachers and taught. The teachers at one class are often students at another. *We are friends educating each other.*" [1] The University Extension movement, of which Mr. James Stuart, of Cambridge, was the pioneer in 1867, marks yet another step in the progress towards real intellectual co-operation between people of different training and experience, since it was in response to the request of working men in Crewe and Rochdale that Mr. Stuart arranged to give courses of lectures similar to those given by him that year in Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds and Sheffield at the invitation of a newly-formed Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women.[2] The basis upon which the Workers' Educational Association was built is that of an equal share of responsibility between the voluntary organisations which recruit and focus the demands of the students, the Universities which provide the tutors, and the State and Local

[1] G. M. Trevelyan in *The Working Men's College*, 1854-1904 (1904), p. 198 (italics mine). Cf. also F. D. Maurice, *Learning and Working* (1855), and *On the Representation and Education of the People* (1866.)

[2] H. J. Mackinder and M. E. Sadler, *University Extension, Past, Present and Future* (1891), p. 21. F. E. Draper, *University Extension*, 1873-1923 (1923), pp. 12-14.

Education Authorities which find the major part of the cost.[1]

It is impossible fully to understand this evolution, clear as may be the stages in themselves, without reference to the general conditions of life amidst which it took place. If we can discover what really animated both those who gave and those who received adult education, and how, as supply and demand became more properly related, there were manifest in both certain elements that reveal the striving of spiritual forces for larger expression, we shall be able to approach with more sympathetic insight the situation as it is to-day. But in order to do this we must avoid the mistake of considering adult education in isolation from the other human interests and circumstances of English people, whether it be a hundred years ago, or whether it be at the present time. Professor J. J. Findlay has lately sketched the relationship between the social, political, and religious development of town and countryside in England and the ways in which, from one great period to another in our national history, types and methods in the education of children have been almost revolutionised.[2] Mr. Dobbs has not only traced the connection between education and social movements during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but he has also suggested as a result of his researches that the most

[1] Cf. Dobbs, *op. cit*, pp. 241-244. A. Mansbridge, *University Tutorial Classes* and *An Adventure in Working Class Education.*

[2] *Vide* J. J. Findlay, *The Children of England* (1923). Cf. also Herbert Spencer's statement of the general principle: "There cannot fail to be a relationship between the successive systems of education and the successive social states with which they have co-existed. Having a common origin in the national mind, the institutions of each epoch, whatever be their special functions, must have a family likeness. . . . Thus, alike in its oracular dogmatism, in its harsh discipline, in its multiplied restrictions, in its professed asceticism, and in its faith in the devices of man, the old educational régime was akin to the social systems with which it was contemporaneous; and similarly in the reverse of these characteristics, our modern modes of culture correspond to our more liberal religious and political institutions." *Education* (1878: Edition of 1910), pp. 67, 69.

fruitful season for the up-rising of educational enthusiasm is towards the end of a period of industrial depression and immediately before the new wave of prosperity.[1] We may at least accept as axiomatic the view that while apostles and pioneers may transcend the conditions of their time in both vision and effort, the reaction of the great mass of the people to any progressive movement in education will to a great extent reflect those conditions. It is essential, therefore, that in any endeavour to analyse achievement in adult education, and still more in the effort to penetrate the motives and purposes of the people concerned, the existence of political and religious factors should be taken into account, the influence of the industrial and social environment recognised. We must endeavour to see things from the sociological as well as from the psychological standpoint. In education, as in all else that concerns human life and growth, there is perpetual inter-action between the forces that work within a movement and those that play upon it from without.

Obviously the state of primary, secondary, technical and university education at different points in the nineteenth century affected very closely the kind of adult education offered and sought. Thus it was not till 1808 that the Committee which later became the British and Foreign Society was formed and " patronised by the rich Whigs and Quakers, adopted Joseph Lancaster's ideas of popular education with general religious instruction." [2] It was in 1811 that the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Church of England was established, and was based upon the ideas of Dr. Bell.

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 209-10, 248.

[2] J. L. and Barbara Hammond, *The Town Labourer*, 1760-1832 (1917), p. 57. Actually the Committee was at first known as " the Society for promoting the Royal British or Lancasterian system for the education of the Poor," then as " the Institution for promoting the British system for the education of the Labouring and Manufacturing classes of Society of every religious persuasion," and finally, in 1814, when Lancaster had dropped out, as " the British and Foreign School Society." Cf. Prof. J. W. Adamson, *A Short History of Education*, p. 254.

Mr. G. M. Trevelyan speaks of the rapidity with which the schools were multiplied. "In 1818 as many as 600,000 out of two millions were attending schools of some sort. In the year of the Reform Bill, when Bell died, there were as many as 12,000 national schools." [1] But, as Mr. and Mrs. Hammond have pointed out, while it may be true that in 1818 about one in four of the children of the poor were receiving education of some kind, "the mere statement of this figure would give an exaggerated impression of the education of the working classes." [2] The distribution of schools was very uneven. In the manufacturing districts there were great areas of almost complete illiteracy. The Factory Inspectors reported in 1842 that the thirty-two square miles comprising Oldham and Ashton, with a population of 105,000, contained not a single public day school for poor children. "In 1839, 1840, and 1841, 40% of the men and 65% of the women married, or witnessing marriages, in Lancashire and Cheshire could not sign their names." [3] Provision for elementary education remained terribly inadequate, in respect of quality as well as of quantity, while even children who went to school generally did not remain beyond the age of nine or ten. The situation was greatly improved by the Education Act of 1870. "The effect of that Act was that a school had been placed within the reach

[1] *British History in the Nineteenth Century*, 1782-1901 (Fourth Impression, 1923). W. H. Watson says, in *The First Fifty Years of the Sunday School* (n.d.: *circ.* 1862), p. 163, that according to the Parliamentary Returns of 1818, "there were then in England and Wales 19,230 day-schools, containing 674,883 scholars, being 1 in 17·25 of the population, and 5,463 Sunday Schools, containing 477,225 scholars, or 1 in 24·40 of the population," p. 112. In point of fact it was almost impossible to arrive at accurate statistics, or even at reliable estimates. No proper records were kept by the schools, and there was much confusion of figures, for example, between attendance at day school and attendance at Sunday School, while, in any event, attendance was apt to be brief in extent and irregular in character. Moreover, the value of the education received was often negligible. Cf. Prof. J. W. Adamson, *op. cit.* pp. 246, 254-5, 261, 288, 304.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 54.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 53.

of every child at a low charge. The Local Authority might, if it wished, make attendance compulsory. Between 1870 and 1890 the average school attendance rose from one and a quarter millions to four and a half millions, while the cost per child was doubled. In 1880 primary education was made compulsory for all, and in 1891 it was offered free of all expense." [1] From 1851 onwards grants made by the Education Committee of the Privy Council to evening schools assisted the provision of elementary education for adults as well as for children, but restricted the work of the schools to that plane.[2] The Technical Instruction Acts of 1889 and 1891 [3] gave powers to the County Councils to provide technical education, and the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act of 1890 afforded them State aid for this out of the resources of the "Whiskey Money." This, which, incidentally, at first threatened indirectly to deflect the aims of the University Extension Movement,[4] was in its outworking one of the factors which made necessary the Education Act of 1902.[5] The problems created by the grants made through the Science and Art Department to day and evening classes from 1856 onwards constituted another.[6] The Education Act of 1902 was important from the point of view of adult education, among other reasons, because it increased the facilities for secondary education by giving County Councils and County Boroughs power to aid or provide it, and stimulated them to make further provision of

[1] G. M. Trevelyan, *op. cit.* p. 354. See also s.v. "Education Act," *Encyclopaedia and Dictionary of Education* (1922).

[2] Cf. M. E. Sadler, *Continuation Schools*, pp. 56-58.

[3] *Encyclopaedia and Dictionary of Education*, s.v. "Technical Instruction."

[4] Mackinder and Sadler, *University Extension, Past, Present and Future* (1891), pp. v-vi, 53-58. Because County Councils could, under this provision, aid only scientific and technical studies, and utilised the help of the University Extension Authorities for these to the practical exclusion of literature, history and economics.

[5] *Encyclopaedia and Dictionary of Education*, s.v. "Education Act."

[6] Cf. M. E. Sadler, *Continuation Schools*, pp. 58-67.

technical education. Just as the Education Act of 1870 resulted in the progressive elimination of that need for teaching grown men and women to read and write which pre-occupied the founders of the adult education movement fifty years earlier, so one effect of the Act of 1902 was to leave the adult education movement far more free to deal wholly with non-vocational subjects than had been possible in the days of the Mechanics' Institutes during the second quarter of the century.

In the middle of the nineteenth century the Report of the Commission on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge led to a re-invigoration and re-modelling of the interior life of the Universities themselves. Another and no less important result, however, was that by so doing it tended to broaden the outlook of the Universities and to set some of the more generous spirits among graduates and professors thinking of what they could do for the men and women of the country at large. The creation of the modern Universities in the great industrial centres of the country during the 'seventies also brought the possibility of a broad culture more within the reach of clerical and manual workers, shopkeepers, and primary school teachers.[1]

The significance of these educational developments will be seen as we study the work and the fate of the earlier organisations for adult education. Leaving out of account for the moment the motives of those who promoted these movements, and of those who profited by them, it is clear that very little could be done among working people in the early part of the nineteenth century until they had been taught to read and write. Even in the middle of the century it was found that the Mechanics' Institutes, which were initiated in England with so much enthusiasm in 1823, fell short of their purpose in most cases because they assumed a previous equipment which many of the mechanics themselves did not possess. It is true that the facilities offered were frequently utilised by people for whom they had not

[1] See Mackinder and Sadler, *op. cit.* pp. 6-8, 28. Cf. A. Mansbridge, *The Older Universities of England* (1923), pp. 177-8.

been primarily intended. Thus between 1850 and 1854 it was estimated by various writers that three-quarters of the members of such Institutes were clerks and others who did not belong to the working classes, as that term was then interpreted.[1] It was said that the Institutes had failed. James Hole, in his critical but constructive essay, points out that this was largely because the men and women whom it was hoped to educate by means of them lacked simple elementary education.[2] Dr. Hudson cheerfully accepts the situation, and says that it is a good thing to have reached the lower middle classes even if that was not the original intention ; the failure, he suggests, must therefore be interpreted only as a challenge to provide yet another form of education more suitable for the less equipped lower classes, though it was apparently due also to the unwillingness of working men, " either from respect or humility " (as Hudson puts it, though people like Lovett and Place, who knew the mind of the working man better, would have given very different reasons) to mingle with middle-class fellow-students. Mr. Dobbs, writing seventy years afterwards, points out that the history of education repeatedly records

[1] See Hudson, *op. cit.* p. vii ; Hole, *op. cit.* pp. 17-22 ; Mansbridge, *Survey of Working Class Education*, pp. 273, 289.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 20. He quotes the Central Committee of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes as estimating, in 1840, that nineteen-twentieths of the members were not of the class of mechanics, and the Committee declares the cause to be " the absence of an early and sound intellectual and moral training for the mass of our operative population. Recent enquiries, conducted by various Statistical Societies, have demonstrated the bad quality and the insufficient amount of education (if it may be so called) which is provided for a part of our infant and juvenile population ; and have but too clearly shown that, with the exception of Sabbath School instruction, a large proportion receive no education whatever. What is taught fails to originate and strengthen a taste for reading, or a desire for the attainment of general knowledge ; and hence it happens, that all the attractions of our Mechanics' Institutes, and all the substantial advantages offered at a cheap rate in their classes fail to induce the great bulk of our juvenile operatives to enter them. They have neither the taste for the one nor the right appreciation of the other."

the mistake of trying to make progress too rapidly, and without ensuring that the foundations are sufficiently well laid.[1] In the middle of the century, when Hole and the others had been pointing out the weaknesses of the Mechanics' Institutes in class work as compared with the tendency to provide innumerable single lectures, and had shown by their statistics that these classes themselves were for the most part in such elementary subjects as reading, writing and arithmetic, the Working Men's College, starting out with the highest standard yet proposed for the education of working people, found itself compelled to set up an "adult school" for teaching prospective students the elements.[2] The early years of "University Extension" were fraught with disappointment for the apostles of that movement, who found that the working men whom they were so anxious to reach were so often totally handicapped by lack of elementary education.[3]

With regard to the predominance, between 1830 and 1870, of technical studies in organisations for adult education, a predominance which gradually diminished between 1870 and 1903, the effect of the rapid increase in the provision of technical education by Local Education Authorities and by such institutions as the Polytechnics is stressed by Professor A. V. Dicey, Principal of the Working Men's College. He argues that "every kind of pursuit which involves intellectual and moral training may be followed in an

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 86. The reference is actually to the history of Grammar Schools and their tendency "to develop on the one hand into secondary schools for the rich, and on the other into elementary schools for the poorer classes," but a general inference is drawn. Cf. also Mackinder and Sadler, *op. cit.*, and R. D. Roberts, *Eighteen Years of University Extension* (1891), p. 18; but also contrast Roberts, *op. cit.* p. 23. "Until the mind of the people has been thoroughly trained it is absurd to deduce from their apathy a natural antagonism to their intellectual culture." Hole, *op. cit.* p. 22, and again p. 57. Cf. also Hole, *op. cit.* pp. 30-31.

[2] *The Working Men's College*, 1854-1904 (1904), p. 165.

[3] Cf. R. D. Roberts, *Eighteen Years of University Extension* (1891), pp. 17-18.

academic spirit and thus become a branch of liberal education. Many eminent teachers have come to see that the matter of importance is far less what is the particular kind of knowledge taught, than the spirit in which it is taught. The opposition between utility and science turns out to be unreal. It should be remembered that students who learn shorthand and Spanish learn also much besides, and imbibe in any case the collegiate spirit and the collegiate tradition. Still it is a matter of fair doubt whether, now that many institutions in London at any rate provide admirable technical instruction, the College would not act wisely in reverting more closely to the practices of its founder, and whilst giving students opportunities for learning, for example, shorthand, turn its efforts mainly towards promoting that kind of instruction that may fairly be called academic. The teaching of the humanities should always be the main object of the Working Men's College." [1] Mr. L. Jacob, writing on The College Education, touches the point from a different angle, and says: "The problem as regards the students is how to give a liberal education to men, very many of whom join merely in order to make themselves more efficient in their trades, and hardly know or care what

[1] *The Working Men's College*, 1854-1904, pp. 252-3. The Bryce Commission on Secondary Education, reporting in 1895, refused to distinguish sharply between secondary and technical education, since both were intended to "form a person fit to live" a practical life. This was an argument which issued logically in the idea that the County Councils and County Boroughs considered capable of supplying the one might equally well supply the other, and may possibly have influenced the framers of the 1902 Act. Cf. J. W. Adamson, *op. cit.* p. 344, for an interesting quotation from the Report.

Dr. Wodehouse quotes, from evidence given before the Royal Commission on popular education which reported in 1861, the account of how the Bishop of Wells taught a class of navvies to read and cypher, but their keenness was explained by the superintendent of the locomotive works at Bristol by the fact that "these men know that some of the richest contractors have risen from being mere navvies, but that such a position is impossible to reach without a knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic." *Op. cit.* p. 208.

education means. We have undoubtedly to give what men demand; otherwise they would not come at all. Arithmetic, grammar, and foreign languages are specially such subjects. Happily it is possible, while teaching each of these subjects practically, to render it at the same time educational; that is, to make it give a good mental training." [1] Professor Dicey refers to the variety of institutions which by 1904 had arisen to provide "a sound education for working men," and remarks: "They do a work which in Maurice's day hardly any institution except the Working Men's College attempted to perform." [2]

These considerations may suffice to show some of the special limitations in the field of education itself under which the adult movement developed during the nineteenth century. When, at a later stage in our study, we come to look more closely into the ultimate desires and intentions of the pioneers, whether they were organisers, teachers, or students, we must bear in mind the almost incredible extent to which the general educational situation differed from that which prevails now. That fact may have had little to do with the deeper motives of those pioneers, but it did determine their methods. Certainly we ought to take full account of it and, having done so, not lightly to dismiss, as quite unconcerned with spiritual values, much of the elementary or apparently utilitarian work which they were compelled to do.

Less obvious, perhaps, than the difficulties created by the educational background against which the adult education movement was set in the nineteenth century, but not less influential upon the movement itself, are the social, industrial, political and religious conditions at the time.[3] It is

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 255. [2] *Loc. cit.*

[3] Dr. Hudson becomes rhetorical on this point: "To indicate the impulses which now propel the multitude onward in civilisation, describing the present age in its social features and its intellectual tendencies, is a work of some magnitude. The 'now' is the last link of a century which dawned while yet the witch fires blazed round the dying form of Heaven's last great work—woman; a period when intellectual associations could only exist by license from

impossible here even to specify the processes and events which did so much to determine the attitude towards adult education characteristic of the middle classes on the one hand and the working classes on the other during the century. By way of illustration we might recall the passing of the Reform and Factory Acts, the attempt to suppress combination on the part of the workmen—even to the point of legislative prohibition of it—in the early part of the century, and the rapid development of the Co-operative and Trade Union movements in the latter part. There was the change from the period of the Corn Laws to the pursuit of a Free Trade policy and the development of exports. Then, too, must be remembered the growth, alongside that of the new methods of production, of invention and discovery as applied to manufacture and trade. Increase in the facilities for transport and communication made possible a new unification of the country, and also brought the English people into a closer relationship with the whole world.[1] Science made immense progress, and while the fuller knowledge of the physical sciences enriched men's lives, the advance in the biological sciences, and particularly the development of the theory of evolution, cast new light upon

Justices of the Peace, and when the mere attendance at a lecture or discussion entailed heavy penalties on those who sought knowledge and truth. The faggot and the stake have happily passed away —wholesale carnage and the scaffold are waning—intellect is being developed in a natural and tranquil course, neither forced nor resisted by rules, and the product of the people's own sense of what is for their honour and best interest is rapidly maturing itself under the shelter of a well-ordered freedom. The present, too, affords ample evidence that honesty and justice are flourishing by the expanding leaves of a man's highest blossom—intellect—with its variegated hues of virtue and religion." *Op. cit.* p. 54. A useful sketch of the first half of the nineteenth century is found, as Mr. Dobbs reminds us (*op. cit.* p. 210), in Martineau's *History of the Thirty Years' Peace.*

[1] The dependence of University Extension in its early stages upon the growth of the railway systems illustrates a point often overlooked in considering the spread of cultural influences. Mackinder and Sadler, *op. cit.* p. 11.

the whence and whither of life itself. Political theory took on completely new forms. What have now come to be known as the social sciences emerged and began to play an effective part in both thought and action. Theology and Biblical scholarship broadened and deepened. It is not to be forgotten that during these hundred years the stress and impacts of great wars were acutely felt. At the outset Europe was still in the throes of the struggle with Napoleon. In the middle of the century occurred the Crimean War, followed swiftly by the Indian Mutiny. The century closed under the shadow of the conflict in South Africa.

Before suggesting some of the effects that these events had upon the adult education movement, and the extent to which some of them may be said to have had a share in creating and fostering it, we may with advantage recall the general relationship of the classes to each other in England during this time. We find a clearly marked movement from the "two nations" of the eighteenth century to an externally more divided, but in some deeper respects more unified, people at the beginning of the twentieth. The natural contrast when the Industrial Revolution began was between those who, almost as it were by divine right, occupied the position of the governing classes, and those who, as it was supposed, by the essential constitution of things belonged to the lower orders. The business of the one class was to direct: that of the other to obey. The function of the aristocracy was to provide suitable employment and a measure of security for the common people. That of the masses was to recognise their dependence upon their superiors, and cheerfully to fulfil the tasks which their betters laid upon them. This arrangement was admitted by both sides (despite some stirrings of resentment among the "lower orders" [1]), and to it religion lent a sanction derived from a deist theology and a corresponding morality. Springing, as a form of social organisation, from

[1] Cf. quotations from Thomas Hodgskin, John Doherty, Cobbett, and John Francis Bray, given by Mr. and Mrs. Horrabin in *Working Class Education*, pp. 18-20.

feudalism, it was sustained by a fixed idea about Providence. But as the century advanced there slowly grew up an altogether different theory of human life and society. Economic changes, resulting in the rise of the manufacturing middle classes and in the greater prosperity and independence of the industrial working classes, led to the substitution for this old notion of social distinction, based upon birth, of something very like the modern class-struggle, resting upon inequalities in the possession of wealth. Aristocracy, plutocracy, and democracy, as ideals, came successively into play, but did not supplant each other. There came about in all classes of the population a permeation of old ideas by new ones, while differences in status and opportunity, in freedom and power to enjoy the good things of life, were not less sharply marked. It became more clear to thoughtful men that there was a real inter-dependence which could be made fruitful for the common weal only as each type and group was enabled to make its due contribution to the common life. The vision of community began to dawn.

Such a process was bound to affect the attitude of the nation as a whole, and of all the various sections within it, towards all projects for increasing educational facilities. In the early years of the century there were not wanting people among the well-to-do and influential classes who resisted outright on grounds of sheer self-interest even the bare suggestion that the poor should be educated. We may take some typical illustrations from the experiences of men like Francis Place. Thus Place himself records an interview with Lord Grosvenor (afterwards the Marquis of Westminster), when Place was seeking to raise money for the London Mechanics' Institute in the years 1823 and 1824. Lord Grosvenor " said he had a strong desire to assist the institution, but he had also some apprehension that the education the people were getting would make them discontented with the Government. I said the whole mass of the people *were* discontented with the Government, and that although teaching them would not remove their discontent,

it would make them less disposed to turbulence. . . . He said: 'True, but *we* must take care of ourselves.' In the result he gave nothing." [1]

There was also, however, a prejudice which was little more than pure snobbery. This is indicated by the way in which Place, while still carrying on his tailor's business at Charing Cross and building up the famous library which he had begun when he was living with his wife in one room on seventeen shillings a week, " had to be more and more careful that none of his ordinary customers should be allowed to go into the library at the back of the shop, or to 'know anything of me except as a tailor.' " He complains that on several occasions he lost very good customers owing to their learning something of his habits of study, and says: " 'Had these persons been told that I had never read a book, that I was ignorant of everything but my own business, that I sotted in a public house, they would not have made the least objection to me. I should have been a " fellow " beneath them, and they would have patronised me; but . . . to accumulate books, and to be supposed to know something of their contents, to seek for friends, too, among literary and scientific men, was putting myself on an equality with themselves, if not indeed assuming a superiority; it was an abominable offence in a tailor, if not a crime, which deserved punishment. Had it been known to all my customers that in the few years from 1810 to 1817 I had accumulated a considerable library, in which I spent all the leisure time I could spare; had the many things I was engaged in during this period, and the men with whom I associated, been known, half of them at least would have left me, and those too by far the most valuable customers individually.' " Ten years later he emphasises the same point: " 'The nearer a common tradesman approximates in information and manners to a footman, the more certainly will he please his well-bred customers; the less he knows beyond his business, the more certain, in general, will be his success.' " [2] No wonder that

[1] Graham Wallas, *Life of Francis Place* (Revised Edition, 1918), p. 112.

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 37-8.

when he came to play a prominent part in the promotion of the British and Foreign School Society, his constant fear was that the Lancasterian schools might become instruments of social oppression by being connected with the idea of "charity." For this reason, in drawing up the by-laws for the British and Foreign School Society, on its formation, he "'wholly omitted the words "poor" and "labouring poor" which have hitherto been employed' and 'took special care' that there should be no phrase in them 'which could give offence or hurt the feelings of anyone.'" [1]

Mr. and Mrs. Hammond have called attention to this prejudice by quotations of a similar character. One such is from a speech made by the President of the Royal Society, who from his place in the House of Commons attacked Whitbread's Bill for the general provision of elementary schools throughout England introduced in 1807. "However specious in theory the project might be, of giving education to the labouring classes of the poor, it would in effect be found to be prejudicial to their morals and happiness; it would teach them to despise their lot in life, instead of making them good servants in agriculture, and other laborious employment to which their rank in society had destined them; instead of teaching them subordination it would render them factious and refractory, as was evident in the manufacturing counties; it would enable them to read seditious pamphlets, vicious books, and publications against Christianity; it would render them insolent to their superiors; and in a few years the result would be that the legislature would find it necessary to direct the strong arm of power towards them, and to furnish the executive magistrate with much more vigorous laws than were now in force." [2] Dr. Pole tells us that in many of the early adult

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 95.

[2] *Town Labourer*, pp. 57-58. Some delicious specimens of fulmination on these lines directed against the London Mechanics' Institution are quoted by Dr. C. Delisle Burns in his *Short History of Birkbeck College* (1924), pp. 26-28, 39-40, etc. Thus the *St. James's Chronicle* wrote in May 1825: "A scheme more completely adapted for the

schools writing could not be taught because the patrons of the schools feared that those who learned it would use the art for the purpose of forgery.[1] Even so late as 1853 James Hole had to recount similar objections, such as the plaint of those who consider that an extension of the power of reading and writing among the poor would make it totally impossible to secure domestic servants.[2] Worse still is it to find Dr. Furnivall, in 1867, telling how a clergyman had lately reported his Farmers' meeting on the school question: "Reading and writing might be taught, but Arithmetic not;

destruction of this empire could not have been invented by the author of evil himself than that which the depraved ambition of some men, the vanity of others, and the supineness of a third and more important class, has so nearly perfected." Mathematics, said Bell's *Weekly Messenger*, must on no account be taught, because "the unhappy scepticism in France has been justly ascribed to this cause."

[1] "Grounding their refusal upon religious scruple to what, they conceive, was a tendency to secularize the day of the week on which these Schools were generally held; added to this, another objection is advanced from a political consideration, that of placing the poor above their condition in life, as well as putting into their hands a power which may be employed to the injury of society—the art of forgery." Thomas Pole, M.D., *A History of the Origin and Progress of Adult Schools* (enlarged edition, 1816), pp. 73-74.

[2] "We commend this account (of the Huddersfield Female Institute) to those heads of families who, considering their family servants as the 'greatest plague in life,' try to mitigate it by changing their plagues twelve times per annum. We have heard them express their horror of servants who could read, and the guilt of such an accomplishment was only surpassed by the depravity of being able to write. Perhaps such gifts, employed in perusing penny trash, or copying stupid poetry and writing foolish loveletters, are not very profitable endowments; but if our domestic servants could enjoy such real instruction as is given in the Huddersfield Female Institute, they would know better how to use their leisure, unless it is a mistake to speak of this class of the community enjoying leisure at all. We have tried the system of ignorance, and *that* fails; let us try that of knowledge and kind treatment, and see if that will work a change. Perhaps it might. Perhaps they might turn out, after all, to manifest the ordinary qualities of human beings. At least it is worth an experiment." *Literary, Scientific and Mechanics' Institutions*, p. 41.

the boys would be getting to know too much about wages, and that would be troublesome." [1]

"More significant than the dislike of education was the spirit of those who offered it." [2] How long the spirit of the early nineteenth century endured is shown by the fact that even Hole himself, a man of remarkably independent and progressive mind, whose essay suggests lines of policy that in many respects are abreast of our most liberal ideas and projects in adult education to-day, can be guilty of writing that more Mechanics' Institutes could be established "if the town is so amply supplied with a public spirited middle class for their management with vigour and high aims." [3] Dr. Hudson, writing in 1851, has a bland "Preface" which is the perfect flower of condescension: "The unexampled efforts now making in every part of the kingdom for the intellectual and physical improvement of the lower classes of the community, distinguish the present, as the age of philanthropy and good will to all men. The middle classes vie with the rich in promoting the great and good work of education. The brightest minds in literature and science direct their talents to its development; preparing the ignorant by addresses, by lectures, and by their writings, to receive and understand the great and interesting truths which the Creator unfolds before them. The beloved Sovereign of these realms lends her fair and royal name in behalf of Bazaars, to increase the stores of Institution Libraries. The lawned Divine and the ermined Duke feel a pleasure in presiding over the festivals of the artizan and the day labourer." [4] But even the more democratic James Hole could not quite overcome his reverence for the aristocracy, though he tries to ascribe it to the fool multitude. "Some people say, throw overboard this system of patronage; try to do without the attraction of having a live lord to draw people to

[1] Preface to *The Babees Book*, quoted by Dr. Helen Wodehouse, *op. cit.* p. 184.

[2] J. L. and B. Hammond, *Town Labourer*, p. 58.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 72.

[4] *History of Adult Education*, Preface.

their *soirées*, and let these Institutions stand on their own merits. With all our heart, if it can be done ; but anyone who knows either the genius of the English people or the difficulties with which these Institutes are still encumbered, will not use this language." [1]

Prof. J. W. Adamson, in tracing the development of elementary and secondary education throughout the century, repeatedly draws attention to this factor. "The majority of responsible Englishmen down to 1870," he says, "thought of public education as a gift conferred by the well-to-do and by the country upon the labouring poor." This is revealed by the phrases used in drafting Acts of Parliament and terms of reference to Royal Commissions. Brougham's Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1816, was to enquire into "the education of the lower orders." The Newcastle Commission in 1858 was, indeed, instructed to "report what measures, if any, are required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction for all classes of the people," but it concerned itself in its Report mainly with "the independent poor." The passing of the first Reform Act in 1832 stimulated new motives, and the conception of charity began to give place to a sense of danger to the State arising from the ignorance of the people. This was intensified as time went on and as the Chartist movement developed, expressing a demand for enlightenment on the part of the people themselves. "The ignorance of the mass of the population cried for a remedy in the ears both of democrats and of those who doubted or feared democracy." The Second Reform Act in 1867 "accentuated the demand for a more general diffusion of education," and gradually the motive for providing it became less philanthropic or prudential and more the spirit of citizenship and service. But the earlier class-distinctions affected adult education no less than elementary.[2]

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 91.

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 243, 260, 303, 264, 300. In 1891 Mackinder and Sadler urge that elementary education, since 1870, has made higher education indispensable, because "the power of reading, unless

There were of course those who were too timorous to face any great adventure. Thus, for example, Graham, when Home Secretary, wrote to Peel in 1842 deprecating the proposal to hold an enquiry into the educational condition of the manufacturing districts on the ground that it might, like Commissions on such questions as the Poor Law or the enquiry into the conditions of the hand-loom weavers, disclose the full extent of evils for which no remedy can be provided.[1] Dr. Hudson's interpretation of the attitude assumed by certain manufacturers towards their workpeople may be a misrepresentation due to his own habit of mind, and made worse by his fulsome language. Yet there were unquestionably many of whom it was fairly true. He says: "The manufacturer finds it *profitable* to form schools and factory libraries, to rear amateur bands of musicians amongst his workmen, to encourage frugality by savings' banks, benefit societies, sick clubs, clothes clubs, burial associations, and by occasional tea meetings, at which he and his family partake, to destroy that barrier between men, which pride and wealth sometimes ungraciously erects."[2] Mr. Massingham has said of the younger manufacturers of that period that "they believed in the vote and a little education."[3] On the other hand, there is considerable evidence, including some which Hudson himself affords, that many of the more prosperous employers were kindly-hearted, sincere men, anxious to do anything they could for the welfare of their workpeople, though finding it difficult to escape the tendency to patronise, so common in their circle.[4]

accompanied by further training, is often a questionable advantage to the individual, and may, in certain circumstances, become a danger to the State." *University Extension*, p. 142.

[1] J. L. and Barbara Hammond, *Lord Shaftesbury* (1923), p. 67.

[2] *History of Adult Education*, Preface.

[3] Article in *The New Leader*, Nov. 30, 1923.

[4] See Hudson's account of the factory, library, mutual improvement society, etc., established by Messrs. W. and D. Morris in their mills at Chorlton (*op. cit.* p. 191), and the Christian Sunday School and Educational Institute at St. Mary Cray, established through the

It is little wonder that this provoked fierce reaction. Men like Place and Lovett pleaded with the working people to free themselves from the fetters of their own ignorance, and urged upon them that their emancipation lay in their own hands, if they would but educate themselves. Place, indeed, points out that, even among the middle class, people enjoying wealth and leisure who " might be expected to possess the disposition to do the greatest service to humanity with the knowledge necessary to give full effect to their disposition " failed—" plainly because of ignorance ; people do not see how much is in their own power ; they doubt their own ability to effect any real or permanent good, on a large scale, and they therefore attribute the evils they have no hope of removing to the very condition of society." [1] When the Mechanics' Institute was founded in London it was started, as we are told, " upon such self-reliant principles that even the applause at the offer of a professional gentleman to give a course of lectures *gratis*, was objected to ! Government help to education was denounced. ' Men,' says the *Mechanics' Magazine*, ' had better be without education than be educated by their rulers.' The rich were told that they knew nothing of what the lower classes need nor what is beneficial for them. They know indeed too well what is proper for them as *subjects*, as tax-paying *machines*, as slaves, but not what is suitable for them as labourers and as men." [2] Lovett's pages, and the flaming paragraphs of the various addresses that he printed for the working men's

influence of Messrs. Johnson and Smith, proprietors of the paper mills, who gave the building (*op. cit.* p. 205). See also instances cited by Dobbs (*op. cit.* pp. 165-6). Cf. Gerard Collier, *Economic Justice* (1924), p. 77 : " The point of view with regard to equality of opportunity was partly similar ; it was attainable in a negative way by the abolition of privilege, but, in a positive way, by the development of education. Indeed, education was the only positive item in their programme, and even that might be looked upon as the removal of ignorance." The reference is to the more advanced and thoughtful among the manufacturing middle-classes midway between Adam Smith and the Manchester School.

[1] *Life of Francis Place*, pp. 102-3. [2] Hole, *op. cit.* p. 107.

associations to which he belonged, are full of indignant denunciations of those upper classes who jealously kept educational privileges for themselves, just as they are full of appeals to the working men to work out their own salvation by equipping themselves physically, intellectually and morally for the discharge of the responsibilities which they claimed.[1]

There was of course a kind of philanthropy that was not patronising, a desire for the education of men and women who had little or no chance of school or college that was not a matter of mere enlightened self-interest or of education for the defence of the existing social order. Henry Brougham in the early part of the century was an enthusiast for education. "Brougham, whom Cobbett with his craze for apt nicknames that stick, used to call the 'feelosopher,' believed that discontent with the industrial world proceeded from failure to understand it. All that was necessary in his opinion was to educate the workman and so to reconcile him to its laws."[2] This, after all, was not so very far from Lovett's reiterated plea that a system of education should

[1] "The first of the principles which may be said to underlie the legislation of this period," says Mr. D. H. Macgregor, "is that of personal right and personal value in industry"; but he also remarks that "it is the most serious omission of the first half of the nineteenth century, in its legislative aspect, that the people were almost unable to develop the spirit of intelligent democracy which might have given them a leadership of their own in the times when industrialism was still pliable, and many modifications of the employment relationship might have been possible. . . . Though many beginnings were made at this time in social reforms, the lack of appreciation of the relation of educational reforms to the value of all other changes maintained the condition under which the people were legislated for, and had social improvement imposed upon them": *The Evolution of Industry* (n.d.), pp. 109, 79-82.

[2] Hammond, *Lord Shaftesbury*, p. 67. Brougham headed a group of enthusiasts known to their contemporaries as the "education-mad" party, who wished to use all available resources, public and private, for the dissemination of knowledge among all classes, only they laid chief stress on *useful* knowledge. Cf. J. W. Adamson, *op. cit.* p. 260.

enable children, youths and grown people to understand the laws of body and mind, of physical science and social relationships, so that they might attain happiness, and make the greatest possible contribution to the life of the community. Thus the preamble of the manifesto on "*A National Association of the United Kingdom, for Promoting the Political and Social Improvement of the People*" appeals to political and social reformers "*to devise, maintain, and execute a wise and just system of education*, calculated to develop all the powers and energies God has given them, to the end that they may enjoy their own existence, and extend the greatest amount of happiness to all mankind." [1] The Address to Working Men's Associations analyses the social evils of the

[1] *Life and Struggles of William Lovett in his Pursuit of Bread, Knowledge, and Freedom; by Himself* (1876. Ed. by R. H. Tawney, 2 v. 1920), p. 253. This was expanded in a subsequent address expounding the objects of Chartism, in which the signatories say: "But while *as a right* we thus insist on our just share of political power, we are desirous of seeing the most *effective steps taken to gain it*, and of seeing our brethren *preparing themselves to use that power wisely when they shall have obtained it . . . those who possess the power to elect must have knowledge, judgment, and moral principle to direct them*, before anything worthy of the name of just government or true liberty can be established" (p. 263). The ground plan of education for children was intended equally to be that for the education of adults, and is thus described: "They should be carefully taught the *laws of their organisation*, and the evils of infringing them,—as forming the most important lessons to inculcate temperance in eating and drinking, and in all their physical enjoyments. They should be equally taught the evils that are certain to arise to themselves and society from the infringement of *the moral laws of their nature*. It should be the duty of their teachers familiarly to acquaint them with the *social* and *political* relations that exist between them and their fellow-beings." After urging the necessity of instruction in simple science and careful training in self-expression by speech and writing, together with the teaching of music and the general cultivation of the imaginative powers, the Address continues: "In fact, they should here be fully educated to love knowledge and morality for their own sakes, and prepared to go out into active life with sound practical information to direct them, and a moral stamina to withstand its numerous temptations" (pp. 146-7).

time, and proceeds: "Could the present gambling influences of money perpetuate the slavery of the millions for the gains or dissipation of the few? Could corruption sit in the judgment seat—empty-headed importance in the senate-house—money-getting hypocrisy in the pulpit—and debauchery, fanaticism, poverty and crime stalk triumphantly through the land—if the millions were educated in a knowledge of their rights? No, no, friends; and hence the efforts of the exclusive few to keep the people ignorant and divided. Be ours the task, then, to unite and instruct them; for be assured the good that is to be must be begun by ourselves." [1]

There was a steady development in the conviction that education was the right of the people. "The founders of Mechanics' Institutes pronounced with authority that the labouring man was destined to be a rational agent, and that his nature was 'sinned against' when, from any cause, his mental powers were suppressed. . . . Mechanics' Institutes have established the right of the people to culture—more primary and pressing than the right to labour or the franchise; a right great as the right to live, since it makes life worth living for." [2] The duty of the community and of the State in this direction was constantly declared in books, speeches, and newspapers, by all sorts of writers, to be a definite moral obligation.

"So long as we exact obedience to the laws, and cause Government to punish their infraction, we are bound to qualify the governed to obey those laws. The right to education is but the inference from the duty of obedience." [3] The other side of this was clearly seen by F. D. Maurice, and in one series of lectures after another he proclaimed the twin truths that the individual must be awakened to a desire for

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 99.

[2] Hole, *op. cit.* pp. 10-11.

[3] Hole, *op. cit.* p. 97. Cf. Lovett: "Now if ignorance can be shown to be the most prolific source of evil, and knowledge the most efficient means of happiness, it is evidently the duty of Government to establish *for all classes* the best possible system of education." (*Op. cit.* p. 139.)

self-development, and that no individual or class can make real progress apart from a sense of living community with all other individuals and classes in the State. "The great problem of all, then," he writes, "is how to make men know that they are persons, and that therefore freedom and order are their necessary and rightful inheritance." [1] On the other hand, as he said when the battle of the franchise was at its height, "If we are tempted by our own special enterprise [2] to assume that the true force of the workmen must depend upon their education, we are continually reminded by our ambitious efforts and great failures how little any formal teaching would benefit our most intelligent pupils, if they had not the education of rough toil, of domestic sympathies, of national institutions, such, *e.g.* as the trial by jury. So that we may often doubt whether the exercise of the franchise, *provided the sense of its being a trust could once be awakened*, might not itself be a better discipline, morally and intellectually, for the English citizen than the knowledge, however desirable in itself, which some would demand as the condition precedent to his acquisition of it." [3]

[1] *Learning and Working* (1855), p. 121.

[2] *i.e.* The Working Men's College.

[3] *On the Representation and Education of the People* (1866), p. ix. He continues: "And to the great inquiry, how may the sense of its being a trust be best awakened, our experience may at least suggest this negative reply. If you would crush it in one set of men as much as another, in the existing town or country constituencies, in any who may be admitted to it hereafter, make money the standard of worth, the characteristic glory of the citizen. If you take that course, you will reduce at last the upper, the middle, the working-class to such a level, that it will signify almost nothing which have or have not the franchise—all will abuse it to the ruin of themselves and their country. Therefore, to counteract by all means a tendency which has led, and does lead, Englishmen to sell their votes, their freedom, their souls to the highest bidder; a tendency which is at work in every civilised community, and is the seed within it of barbarism and slavery; this should surely be the first aim of all who educate; to this all teaching of arithmetic, languages, physical science, should be subordinate. Unless the gentleman commoner in Christ Church, the mechanic in Great Ormond Street, is reminded

So, too, there was a demand for education on the part of working people which was not a mere revolt against the inequality of intellectual opportunity resultant from the distinction between wealth and poverty. It was rather due to a feeling that life ought to hold something finer than, chained to the dull round of their factories or immured in the misery of their mines, they had yet known. We find Fielding, writing to Cobbett in 1833, describing the three aims of the Society for Promoting National Regeneration which he and Owen had founded. They are "(1) An abridgement of the hours of daily labour whereby a sufficient time may be afforded for education, recreation and sleep. (2) The maintenance of at least the present amount of wages, and an advance as soon as practicable. (3) A system of daily education, to be carried on by the working people themselves, with the gratuitous assistance of all parties who may have time and inclination to attend to it." [1] There was also a directly religious motive for the promotion of education, evident not only among some of the orthodox leaders and adherents of the various Churches, but also among men who were very critical of conventional Christianity. But we shall examine this aspect of the subject more fully in due course.[2]

Amidst the clash of social antagonisms and the fierce conflict of feeling arising from the proximity of ostentatious wealth and poverty so intense as to be degrading, we yet discover a gradually unified demand, proceeding from both rich and poor, for the extension of adult education as a remedy for the moral and social as well as the intellectual dangers of the time. Indeed, the sharp contrasts between different sections of the community spurred men to remedial

that he has relations to the human beings about him—to those who have left the earth, to those who shall be on it when he has left it—which are stronger than all the accidents that separate one class from another, it is hard to say which will grow to be the more ignominious man, which will do least good or most mischief to the land."

[1] Hammond, *Lord Shaftesbury*, p. 37. [2] See ch. vi. *infra*.

action. As Hole writes in 1853 : " It was the glaring disparity that existed between the vast progress which had been achieved in this country in material wealth, and the low moral and intellectual state of those whose toil chiefly produced it, that struck the friends of education a generation ago." Lord Carlisle, then Lord Morpeth, addressing the Manchester Mechanics' Institute in 1834, appeals for the help of the wealthy, as one who lives " in the midst of a dense and teeming population." He says that the " best and easiest method which they can adopt for obviating the risks necessarily incidental to such a state of society is by diffusing to the furthest extent of their means that sound and useful knowledge which is not only the source of independent occupation and gratification in itself, but which also imparts those beliefs in which are to be found the safest guides for individual conduct and the maintenance of public order." He asks of those " who enjoy all the resources and recreations of knowledge, whether they do not owe it to those who, by their patient and persevering industry form the real basis of our collective wealth, and the real sinews of our national strength, to open as freely and as widely as they can those sources of blameless pleasure and wholesome improvement, ' which cheer but not inebriate,' and that general field of intellectual cultivation in which there is no exclusive right or prescriptive privilege, but which returns to all who till its gracious soil the more wholesome nourishment that can invigorate, refine and elevate our common nature." [1]

At much the same time Lovett was pressing upon the people the value of education as an antidote to drunkenness and folly in the use of such limited leisure as they had, for both he and Thomas Cooper were ardent temperance reformers, realising how much misery was due to the fact that poor people had no natural occupation or place of resort which could vie with the attractions of the public house.

In 1829 Lovett drew up a petition " for the opening of the British Museum and other exhibitions of Art and Nature "

[1] Hole, *Mechanics' Institutions*, pp. 90-1.

on Sundays. The petition received many thousands of signatures and was presented to Parliament by Hume. One of the most prominent arguments which it advanced in support of its appeal was that Sundays offered peculiar temptations to drunkenness, "labouring men seek relief from religious instruction in the oblivious and demoralising sociality of the ale-house," and so "Your Petitioners suggest to your Honourable House that the best remedy for drunkenness at all times, is to divert and inform the mind, and to circulate sound knowledge among the people." [1] As usual, Lovett addressed the people themselves in much more flamboyant terms, but with a consuming sincerity which we can understand all the more easily when we learn that his own Holborn Hall, established, at a great cost of enthusiasm and effort, for the education of children and adults, was turned into a gin palace and his own educational endeavours thereby temporarily defeated, because on the one hand of official suspicion regarding popular education and on the other of official readiness to license premises to be used as gin palaces.[2] But even those leaders of the adult education movement in the middle of the century who would not have numbered themselves among temperance reformers as such had constantly to face the competition of the "casinos" and "singing-halls" which added so greatly to the attractions of the public house for the masses.[3] Education was offered as the remedy for the mis-spending of leisure, and as the true satisfaction for those desires pent up during working hours by the monotony and the soullessness which prevailed in so many of the industrial occupations of the period. When music, drama, and "*soirées*" were introduced into

[1] Lovett, *op. cit.* p. 59.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 379-383.

[3] See Hudson and Hole, *opp. cit. passim.* Hudson says of the Manchester Lyceums and Mechanics' Institutions: "Their moral influence has become inoperative against the numerous singing rooms which have sprung up in the cotton metropolis. The weekly visitants of the Casinos and public-house-singing-rooms exceed fifty thousand, amongst whom may be recognised the desultory pupils of the evening classes of the Mechanics' Institutions as well as the seceders from the Lyceums." p. 140.

the programme of Mechanics' Institutions it was not as bait, but as true cultural influences, though ultimately these items tended to develop as mere amusements and to crowd out serious work in all directions. Often the public-house prevailed, as in the melancholy case of the Miles Platting Institution, which was founded by Sir Benjamin Heywood in 1834 " in the form of a mutual improvement society," and blossomed out into a library, reading-room, and evening classes when Sir Benjamin provided a finely appointed building for it. " The district is chiefly inhabited by working men, yet (*sic !*) the founder furnished the reading room with red curtains, easy chairs, and pictures. Coffee, songs, and reading aloud were also occasionally encouraged as forming an agreeable place of resort ; but the public-house continued to retain a paramount influence over the labouring classes." [1] By way of contrast we hear of educational activities in the public houses themselves (reminding us of Godolphin Osborne's proposals for a " moral beer-house," with its library and occasional debate or lecture, as an aid to the improvement of village life). But possibly the picture drawn by Hudson of the educational possibilities of London public-houses has an element of sarcasm instigated by disappointment at the failure of mutual improvement societies.[2]

[1] Hudson, *op. cit.* p. 139.

[2] " It is much to be regretted that all the attempts which have been made in the metropolis, *by public societies*, for the moral improvement of the working classes, have proved complete failures. If we except the fiercer passions, it will be found that the men employed in manufactories in London, have not made any visible moral improvement in the last twenty years. It has been sufficiently attested, that the public-houses and beer-shops, notwithstanding their enormous increase, are still crowded, ' and hundreds of them are filled with workmen on Sunday, as dirty as if they had not washed themselves since they left work on the Saturday.' The public-houses have made some advance, for the number of newspapers has been greatly increased, and in some instances nights have been set apart for political discussions, which have been well sustained in the bar parlours. At an inn in the Kennington Road, lectures on astronomy have been delivered to attentive smokers, before whom

But Lovett, too, advocated education as ensuring public order and stability of judgment in the democracy. There is a curious relevancy to present-day problems in a paragraph towards the end of his *Life and Struggles* : " Examine also, coolly and deliberately, all social and political questions before you espouse them or try to create a public opinion in their favour ; for when so much remains to be done for the up-raising of our people, you should not waste your energy on vain theories, impractical measures, nor in empty threats or denunciations. All such doings, therefore, and all talk about the condemnation of capital—which is the heart's blood of an industrial nation—all denunciations of property, or foolish threats of confiscation, tend to social disorder and alarm ; and to cause all those who possess property to place it if possible beyond the reach of danger and to flee to despots for protection, as the least of evils ; and it should also be remembered that in all social commotions, it is the poor and innocent that first suffer." [1] To this end, therefore, he urges an education that should issue in moderation and sobriety of judgment.

A similar relevancy occurs from another point of view, when we regard the effect of war upon the life and outlook of the working classes. Curiously enough James Hole, writing in the year preceding that of the Crimean War, says sarcastically, in terms not unfamiliar to modern ears, that there is no money for education, but the voting of a million or two more or less to be spent on the increase of the army and its equipment is regarded as no matter.[2] The sending

were the alepots and the alcoholic mixtures. In several of the suburban districts a few books are being introduced into the public-houses for the use of parlour visitors, and there is an indication of improvement springing up which may commend the future." *Op. cit.* p. 211.

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 434-5.

[2] " More remarkable than even these contrasts is the noise we make when we are about to extend some small help to education. ' Speech from the Throne,' ' Strong Feeling in the Country,' ' Decided expression of the House,' ' Editorial thunder in all newspapers,'—and all for a few thousands ; while a million or two, more or less, in Army

abroad of great bodies of troops resulted, as in the recent war, in bringing home to people in town and countryside new notions of what was happening in the world, especially when it was found, as writers of the time allege, that other countries in Europe were ahead of England in their educational provision. It brought the men who thus became travellers into contact with other forms of civilisation than their own. But more than that, the effect of war created reaction among the working people, who sent manifestoes to the working people of other nations with whom England appeared likely to come shortly to hostilities.[1] It lent force to the demand of English working people that education should have the effect of enabling each nation to understand others, and thus to avoid these internecine struggles. We find Lovett drafting one manifesto after another for his colleagues and fellow-workers, in which education is put forward as offering even a more powerful solvent of international antagonism than that early form of the League of Nations idea which he yet propounded with so much energy.

or Navy estimates, would not have created a tithe of the excitement. And yet what item is there in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's budget which can rank for one moment with that devoted to advance the intelligence of the country ? " *Op. cit.* p. 4.

[1] The National Association of Working Men in 1844, fearing that war between England and France was being fomented by " the fire-brained son of Louis Philip, Prince de Joinville, with the war ministry of Thiers, together with a number of other combative animals on both sides of the Channel," set themselves to allay the irritation between the two countries and issued an " Address to the Working Classes of France on the subject of War." The Address proposed that the legislature of each country should be approached with a solemn protest against all war, a request that they should use their influence with the nations of the world to establish a democratic Conference of Nations for the settlement of all disputes by arbitration, a suggestion that they should practise towards other nations the virtues they preach to their own people, and an appeal to limit their acquisition of territory ; the third among the five definite recommendations was " that we urge on them to devote the enormous sums now expended in war and warlike preparations to the *education* and *improvement of the people* of their respective countries." Lovett, *op. cit.* p. 311.

In the spheres of economics and politics, as also in those of religion and philosophy, the nineteenth century witnessed a flood of new ideas, and a perpetual succession of novel but far-reaching experiments. The individualism wrought out as a system by the thinker, and taught as the secret of success through self-help by the man-of-affairs, by degrees gave place to a truer doctrine of social relationships; there arose also the early forms of Socialism which captured the imagination of the working classes. As Mr. G. M. Trevelyan says: "parliamentary, municipal, scholastic, ecclesiastical, economic reform all sprang from the spirit of Bentham's perpetual enquiry, 'What is the use of it?' . . . Bentham's utilitarianism was most directly connected with the creed of the 'philosophic Radicals' like James Mill and Francis Place, and with the sweeping away of abuses and privileges to clear the path for democratic individualism and *laissez-faire*. He had also inspired the movement towards Socialism, co-operation and State interference, which grew up side by side with 'classical' economics and radical politics, though not at first with such rapid growth." [1] There was a strain of unquenchable idealism in men who appealed not only to the great manufacturers, but also to the workers in their factories, on the ground of moral principles that had fallen into neglect, and who at the same time successfully wrought out in business the application of their doctrines. Robert Owen's Lanark experiment stirred the whole country.[2] He tells how a perpetual stream of visitors from all parts of the world, "averaging yearly not less than two thousand," came to New Lanark, while many of the most influential men of the day showed a keen sympathy with his educational principles and methods.[3] Even while thinkers were founding new schools of philosophy and ethics, popular prophets like Thomas Cooper and Cobbett were kindling a fire of enthusiasm among the common

[1] *British History in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 182-3.

[2] *Life of Robert Owen, by Himself* (edition of 1920), pp. 142-3, etc. Cf. F. Podmore, *Robert Owen: A Biography* (edition of 1923).

[3] *Life of Robert Owen, by Himself* (edition of 1920), pp. 142-3.

people. The new ideals were carried into Parliament by such men as Bright and Cobden, who again exerted an influence upon the country traceable at once to their moral rectitude and enthusiasm and their ability in the affairs of ordinary business.[1] There is an amazingly short interval between the utilitarianism of the 'forties and the Christian Socialism of the 'sixties. The work of Maurice, Kingsley, Ludlow, Neale and their colleagues showed that religion was responding both to the new movements of thought and to the new challenge of the changing social situation. Fresh light came to the Church, however, not only from without, but from within, as a new school of Biblical interpretation arose and liberalism in theology became not only respectable

[1] They themselves took an active part in local organisations for adult education. In 1848 Cobden writes: "In my opinion every extension of popular rights will bring us nearer to a plan of National Education, because it will give the poor a stronger motive to educate their children, and at the same time a greater power to carry the motive into practice. . . . I need not say how completely I agree with you that education alone can ensure good self-government. . . . If I take a part in a new reform movement I shall do my best to connect the education question with it, not as a part of the new Reform Act, but by proclaiming my own conviction that it is by a national system of education alone that people can acquire or retain knowledge enough for self-government." Morley, *Life of Cobden* (edition of 1903), pp. 85-86.

James Mill "conceives the end of education to be rendering the individual as much as possible an instrument of happiness, first to himself and next to other beings." His *Encyclopædia Britannica* article on Education gives the definition of education as "the best employment of all the means which can be made use of, by men, for rendering the human mind to the greatest possible degree the cause of human happiness. Everything therefore which operates from the first germ of existence to the final extinction of life, in such a manner as to affect those qualities of the mind on which happiness in any degree depends, comes within the scope of the present enquiry." He asserts that "if education does not perform everything, there is hardly anything which it does not perform." W. L. Davidson, *Political Thought in England: The Utilitarians, from Bentham to James Mill* (n.d.), pp. 128, 130. Bentham's belief in education and views concerning it are well stated on pp. 86-91 of the same book.

but powerful. From Colenso to Robertson Smith, from F. D. Maurice and Matthew Arnold to Dale, Fairbairn and Liddon, there is continual advance of thought which found expression in practical effort.[1]

It is true that, from the time of Bell and Lancaster, the "religious difficulty" proved, as Dr. Adamson says, "the greatest obstacle to the State administration of English education." Lancaster himself denounced "the sect-making spirit," and declared that "above all things, education ought not to be made subservient to the propagation of the tenets of any sect beyond its own number." But time and again proposals for the effective extension of educational provision split on this rock, until in 1870 the Government took the line of compromise by excluding religious teaching in schools from State inspection. The real difficulty in people's minds was that of safeguarding religious and political freedom. Until late in the century, at any rate "the retention of religious teaching in schools was very generally regarded as an essential principle of public policy." The acute controversy was not between people who wanted religion and people who entirely opposed it, but between those satisfied with "general religion" (*i.e.* the Bible and what later was known as Cowper-Templeism) and those who believed denominational formulae necessary. The "secular solution" put forward after 1870 was designed by its religious adherents to remove religious instruction to the sphere of the Churches and was certainly not meant by those who supported it on the ground of disbelief in orthodox Christianity to do away with moral instruction in schools. Gathorne Hardy declared in 1870 that the difficulty "is not one which has sprung from the people themselves," who would never have thought of it had not "those having authority over them" raised it, while Dr. Temple, the Headmaster of Rugby who became Archbishop of Canterbury, said that "once we were inside the school it vanished." How this whole controversy

[1] Cf. Henry W. Clark, *Liberal Orthodoxy : An Historical Survey* (1914).

affected the various organisations for *adult* education we shall see later.[1]

The growth of the Co-operative Movement, from the days of Owen to those of Holyoake, and the regeneration of the Trade Union Movement after the middle of the nineteenth century, created a new social sense among the mass of men, which revealed also the necessity of an adequate motive and of a richer mental equipment for the task that had thus been begun in action. This led the Christian Socialists to turn from their experiments in tailoring to a new enterprise in the liberal education of the working classes on lines of fellowship with university men. Carlyle and Ruskin were teaching the worth of plain manhood and the dignity of work. Maurice in his introductory lectures when the Working Men's College was founded laid supreme emphasis on the importance of beginning at both ends: "We must raise Work to make it fit for association with Learning, as well as bring Learning to bear upon Work."[2] It was significant, as evidence of the way in which, once started on such lines of thought, the keener of the working men outstripped their mentors, and in which also the finer elements of the Church, the university, the professions and the common trades came together as by natural attraction, that when Maurice was dismissed from his professorship at King's College, London, on the ground of heresy, he was forthwith hailed as the ideal head of the proposed Working Men's College.[3] It is even more significant that during his tenure of the principalship, one of the best-attended classes in the College programme was his weekly class for Bible study.

When Canon Barnett came to deal, in the last quarter of the century, with the social problem resulting, in East

[1] *Vide* ch. vi. *infra*. Cf. J. W. Adamson, *op. cit.* pp. 247-254, 262, 294-295, 279-281, 300-302, 307, 310-311, etc. Cf. also Sir Geo. Kekewich, *The Education Department, and After* (1920), pp. 168-187, 227-240, etc., for the later phases.

[2] F. D. Maurice, *Learning and Working*, p. 96.

[3] Cf. the letter to Maurice signed by 967 working men; F. Maurice, *Life of Frederick Denison Maurice* (1884), vol. ii. pp. 221-223.

London as elsewhere, from failure to solve the industrial problem, he was forced to the same conclusion as Maurice had been. He organised courses of lectures, and Mrs. Barnett quotes from an introductory one given by Professor Huxley : " We must bring about wider intercourse between those variously educated that the best system may be recognised. If some common room in connection with the classes could be established, the intercourse would be more possible." She says : " In this sentence—1879—lies the seed from which sprang Toynbee Hall—1884." From Toynbee developed the Settlement movement, which sought to create a new understanding between all classes of the community with a view to the establishment of a more satisfactory social order. In 1893 Canon Barnett wrote, in *The Toynbee Record*, " The social problem is at root an educational problem, and they who have been concerned at Toynbee Hall to raise the standard of living have been driven to develop educational schemes. They found that without more knowledge, power might be a useless weapon and money only a means of degradation, and that without more education, local government would hardly be for the local good. . . . They realised that no secure position would be won until the people were educated to win it for themselves, and that no happiness is satisfactory except that which comes from ' the inward eye.' " [1] Thus from the growing spirit of social service a new impulse was given to educational effort.[2]

There is little cause for wonder, if, in the early part of the nineteenth century, working men reacted against the

[1] Mrs. Barnett, *Canon Barnett, His Life, Work, and Friends* (1918), vol. i. pp. 332, 341.

[2] Cf. *Settlements and Their Outlook* (1922) for a brief survey of the Settlement movement in various countries. The Neighbourhood Guild Movement pointed in the same direction. " The way to save and prevent is often by educating the intellect and cultivating the taste of the person in danger, or already fallen. . . . The only road to the emancipation of labourers from excessive toil is by way of intellectual and moral co-operation." Stanton Coit, *Neighbourhood Guilds : An Instrument of Social Reform* (1891), pp. 11, 100.

patronage of the rich, the misery that followed the extension of mechanical power into industry, and the successful exploitation of human material and resources by a few of the new manufacturing class, and at first demanded education as an avenue to power. As we shall see in glancing at the rise of the Mechanics' Institutes, there was a good deal in their statement of their aim in this connection to suggest that many of the artisans who joined the earlier ones desired to master the new machinery both of the factory itself and of the industrial system, which threatened to crush the life out of them.[1] Yet still, as we shall observe, there was more than the spirit of selfish individualistic competition in them, and the evolution towards the achievement of a group spirit and a citizenship enlightened by liberal studies and directed by a real desire for the common welfare was fostered by the practice in combination which came with participation in the co-operative societies and trade unions. The great enrichment of the field of science which we owe to chemists, physicists, and biologists, to the students of geology and anthropology, of astronomy and mathematics, during the nineteenth century brought about a new sense of the unity of things. The rise of Rationalism made for a new freedom of thought. But alongside it came kindlier influences, both metaphysical and theological, which gave men and women of all classes a belief that " the universe means intensely and means good." So, towards the end of the century and quite apart from the new facilities for study, people found themselves in a new atmosphere which produced as definite an effect upon their attitude to education and their desire for it as did the more obvious pressure of social and political organisation. The influence of continental social, political, and educational movements, middle class or working class, and particularly of Marxian Socialism at the end of the century, was still hardly more than atmospheric in England, so far as adult education was concerned. It is when we

[1] It is to be remembered that most of the Institutes were promoted and managed by benevolent or shrewd middle-class people for the benefit of the workmen.

come to the twentieth century that we have definitely to take these into account. There is, however, one factor in the distinctively English life of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, or indeed even of the last half, which must not be overlooked, when we are considering developments that affect the growth of adult education in this country. With the still greater broadening of the franchise came actual participation, through district and borough councils, Boards of Guardians, and other bodies of the kind, in local government, in a way that was fresh to both middle and working class people. In itself of no mean educational value, this participation brought with it an additional range of interests, and a desire for knowledge of subjects hitherto almost entirely neglected by all save the academic student.

Such, then, is the background against which we have to read the story of the growth of adult education during the nineteenth century.[1] In order to answer the question with which we set out, we need to discover the aims and motives of those who were concerned in the movement at its various stages, as well as the character of the actual education pursued. Only so can we attain any power of judging how far adult education in the nineteenth century can be regarded as in the fullest sense concerned with spiritual values. The attribution of motives and the ascertainment of aims are adventures in history and psychology, the result of which must be precarious. It is for that reason that we must keep in mind so consistently the atmosphere and circumstances amidst which the men and women of this country moved, from decade to decade. Again, it is possible to attribute to the rank and file the spirit and intention found in the lives of outstanding leaders. But to do so obviously may be a very misleading inference. Nevertheless, while even those who do not crucify their prophets almost always follow them afar off, there is little doubt that the pioneers of adult education

[1] The general features of the last quarter of the century—the period of "University Extension"—have not been described in such detail as those of the first three-quarters, because they are near enough to be fairly well known by most adults still.

in the nineteenth century, because of their own sensitiveness and their democratic methods, reflected in an intensified degree the thought and feeling of a great number of their less distinguished contemporaries. Nor is it to be supposed that men and women in whom there was so much fire and light failed to impart a considerable share of both to their followers. As to the inference that may legitimately be drawn from the methods and the subjects which, as we shall see, became current in various adult educational enterprises from time to time, perhaps enough has already been said to show that these inferences must be checked by what we know of the conditions constituted for adult education by the contemporary state of primary, secondary, technical and university education.

VII

THE MAIN MOVEMENTS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The casual observer might well suppose that each new enterprise in adult education during the nineteenth century was prompted solely by the emergence in the life and thought of its promoters of some quite fresh and distinctive interest unrelated to those which had gone before. Contrast is often more evident than continuity. Those hundred years witnessed a surprisingly rapid series of changes in the social organisation and the economic development of England; politics and religion alike passed through a period of evolution so swift that at times it seemed, and was taken to be, revolution. Singularly creative in so many other respects, the century was particularly fertile in educational experiments. The characteristics of these, and especially of those in the sphere of adult education, were very strongly marked. Each of them was initiated by an enthusiast whose personality impressed itself upon the movement that he created, and yet each had at the time of its inception points of close correspondence with the ideas and purposes of some well-defined class of average men and women. Generalisation about motives is therefore not easy and may be hazardous. Nevertheless, there are good reasons for believing that the quest for spiritual values was to a greater or less extent an impelling force in all these undertakings. Reflection upon the facts leads to the conclusion that only as this element was demonstrably within them, though with very varying degrees of consciousness, did they survive. In some of them the primary aim was quite definitely religious. Others carefully made it clear that they were not concerned with

religion, but did not hesitate to avow a moral objective. Some set out simply to put men and women into fuller possession of themselves and of their world. There were those that sought to equip the masses for better service, of their masters and of the community. The ideal before others was that of educating the masses into fitness for self-government, whether in industry or in the State. As always, there was a minority which regarded the quest of beauty, truth and goodness as an end in itself, the birthright of every human being, and certain to bring in its train all else that belongs to a man either in the enjoyment of his rights or in the fulfilment of his duties. Of all the pioneers and leaders it may be said without reserve that they were men and women for whom spiritual values were supreme; many were in the accepted sense and in the most frank and sincere way religious; most were completely unorthodox.

We see, then, that philanthropy and social revolt, political enthusiasm and a passion for culture, a missionary spirit in religion and a crusade for better conditions of life and work, all played their part in evoking the demand for adult education and stimulating the supply of it. We should be misreading history if we were to attempt to prove that all of them, and in like manner all the adult educational organisations to which they gave rise, were equally animated by spiritual impulses. But without straining either words or facts, we can say that at least some measure of spiritual desire and energy is perceptible in every one. This cannot be shown adequately in a chapter. But the illustrations chosen and the quotations adduced are typical, as any who will go to the literature of the subject may discover.

1. THE EARLY ADULT SCHOOLS[1]

"The cause of adult education," says Mr. G. M. Trevelyan, "received its first stimulus from the Industrial Revolution in the desire of mechanics for general scientific knowledge, and the willingness of the more intelligent part of the middle

[1] The author rejoices to learn, as this volume is passing through the press, that the National Adult School Union is about to publish

class to help to supply that demand. It was a movement partly professional and utilitarian, partly intellectual and ideal. Disinterested scientific curiosity was strong among the better class of workmen in the north. From 1823 Mechanics' Institutes, begun in Scotland by Dr. Birkbeck, spread through industrial England." [1] This is an excellent summary, as far as it goes, but unfortunately it begins a quarter of a century too late and is not quite complete in its analysis. It may possibly be thought that nothing earlier than the Mechanics' Institutes deserves the name of adult education. But in those days multitudes of men and women had to begin where a child of five years begins now. The first historian of adult education in England, Dr. Thomas Pole, quotes a contemporary who estimates that there were then in the country 1,200,000 adults who had never learned to read.[2] This, as we shall see, was not the sole reason for the starting of adult schools, however, nor was the curriculum of those schools limited to the art of reading. The foundations of English adult education were laid elsewhere than in London. The Adult Schools formed, as it were, the very first bricks in the edifice. The builders were a very different group from those who were responsible for the

an official History of the Adult School Movement from the pen of Prof. G. Currie Martin. Had this been available earlier, he would have been glad to be able to verify, and no doubt in various details to correct, the brief account which it has been necessary to attempt for the purposes of his present task.

[1] *British History in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 164. "Even before the Glasgow mechanics had founded their Institution, groups of workers had made sporadic efforts at organising adult education for themselves. For example, in 1817 Timothy Claxton had founded in London a Mechanics' Institution, whose members, all of them working men, used to meet for classes at their different houses; but this society had ceased to exist in 1820. In 1823 the founders of the new London Mechanics' Institution do not appear to have referred to this earlier venture; but they knew of the demand of the skilled worker of the time to share in the knowledge which was then felt to be transforming society." C. Delisle Burns, *A Short History of Birkbeck College*, p. 19.

[2] *History of the Origin and Progress of Adult Schools*, p. 62.

Mechanics' Institutes. Yet the two designs had something in common.

We know that those who in 1789 set up the Birmingham Sunday Society were animated by the desire to provide for, and retain hold of, young men who had been scholars in the Sunday Schools of an ordinary type, but who no longer felt quite at home there. Arrangements were therefore made by the Sunday School teachers not only to give instruction in reading and writing (for its own sake, as far as we can gather, rather than with any secondary intention), but also to carry the activities of the school into the evenings of the week. Geography, book-keeping, drawing, natural science, and moral instruction were added to the curriculum. When the Sunday Society became the Brotherly Society, the constitution provided that " the objects for improvement shall be Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Drawing, Geography, Natural and Civil History, and Morals, or in short, whatever may be useful to a manufacturer, or as furnishing principles for active benevolence and integrity." [1] We are not so clearly informed as to the exact purpose of those who promoted the Nottingham Adult School in 1798. We are told that the School was opened " for Bible reading and instruction in the secular arts of writing and arithmetic," but we have not such evidence that this was a form of continued Sunday School education as we have in the case of the Birmingham Sunday Society, nor do we hear from what sources the original pupils were recruited. The fullest account of the school, however, tells us that, before long, it came to be conducted mainly by Samuel Fox and the

[1] Hudson, *op. cit.* pp. 29-31, 44. Hole, *op. cit.* p. 6. Dobbs, *op. cit.* p. 141. Hudson claims that the Brotherly Society, established in 1796, with the Artisans' Library connected with it, might justly be regarded as the first Mechanics' Institute in England. He also laments that in 1851 there were still so few institutions fitted for the reception of young people leaving the Sunday Schools (p. 212). He says of the Brotherly Society that "the only peculiarity in the rules is a provision for the exclusion of any member who may habitually neglect public worship," p. 31.

employees in his grocer's shop.[1] In later years it was helpful in training Sunday School teachers. The object of the school was originally the instruction of working women, and in this Fox was always most keenly interested, though a school for men was also started. A library was added, and the more advanced scholars were given special teaching in arithmetic on three evenings a week by Fox, who at a later stage " paid for the fuller instruction of those who wished to take up teaching in the British Schools of the town as a profession." [2] In the school as it began, the reading of a chapter from the Bible, either by the teacher or by one of the scholars, with comments by the teacher, and then writing from dictation or from copies, was the ordinary programme. But it is interesting to observe that even then apparently the Bible was not the only book read. With religious edification there was evidently combined much else that was of value to the scholars as individuals and as citizens.

Curiously enough there was apparently no connection between these schools and the movement begun by William Smith at Bristol [3] in 1812, though the Nottingham School is

[1] " It was a thing understood in that old-fashioned Quaker economy that all the shop assistants, male and female—and they were principally women—should help at the Adult School on First Day morning. To this end Samuel Fox closed his premises earlier on Saturday night, and in order that they might arrive punctually at the Meeting, he provided breakfast for the teachers at his own house after they had completed their two hours of teaching." Rowntree and Binns, *op. cit.* p. 10. Dobbs suggests a connection with the Methodist class meeting, *op. cit.* p. 172.

[2] Cf. J. Wilhelm Rowntree and W. B. Binns, *op. cit.* p. 10. Prof. Wodehouse, *op. cit.* p. 164, quotes an early letter to Dr. Bell in connection with the training of teachers which both the National Society and the British and Foreign Schools Society found it necessary to undertake: " We came to a resolution, on account of Grover's reporting that the masters and mistresses were unable to write, and in some even to read, that either a certificate of their having these qualifications must be required, or an examination by us take place before they are admitted to be trained; and when found incompetent, that they be sent to an adult school first."

[3] Dr. Pole pays tribute to the backing that William Smith received from Stephen Prust, a Bristol merchant whom he consulted, and

the only Adult School founded before 1845 which has continued " without lapse " until the present time, and was one of the factors in the revival of the whole movement by Joseph Sturge at Birmingham in the middle of the century.[1] The Bristol Schools, and those founded on the Bristol model, catered for men and women less favourably situated than those whom the earlier enterprises in Birmingham and Nottingham had in view. The extension of the efforts of the Bible Society, which had been founded in 1804, led to the creation of an Auxiliary Society in Bristol. William Smith became a very active member, and in this way discovered how many among the poor of the city to whom he offered Bibles could not read them. To overcome this obstacle became his great concern. The object of the Adult Schools which rapidly sprang up as a result of his efforts therefore was quite definitely to teach the poor to read the Bible,[2] using it not merely as a convenient school text-book, but as the means by which the scholars might arrive at a knowledge of the way of salvation. In the numerous schools started at Bristol and in other parts of the country under this missionary impulse writing and arithmetic were almost invariably taboo. One reason was that the eager evangelical spirits who had set the schools going saw no particular connection between writing or arithmetic and the way of salvation, while another was that many regarded these accomplishments as opening up the path to per-

Thomas Martin, a Methodist minister who helped him with the organisation, and whom Pole actually calls founder of the first Adult School Society in England, though he calls Smith, who recruited the scholars, borrowed the books, and secured the rooms, founder of Adult Schools in England. *Op. cit.* pp. iv, vi, 9-12.

[1] Cf. p. 211 *infra*. Cf. *The Story of Severn Street and Priory First Day Schools, Birmingham* (1895), pp. 12-13.

[2] Dr. Pole, on the title page of his History, describes himself as " member of the Committee of the Parent Society denominated ' The Bristol Society for teaching the Adult Poor to read the Holy Scriptures.' " In a set of model " Rules " appended to his book the first is : " That the great object of this Society be to teach persons to read the Holy Scriptures," p. 107.

dition.[1] On other grounds, as we have already seen,[2] a number of middle class people, especially among the employers of workmen and the mistresses of domestic servants, had expressed their fear lest it might prove dangerous as well as inconvenient to put such instruments into the hands of the lower classes. The opposition to the teaching of writing encountered by the Adult Schools was offered in the name of religion, and to it Dr. Pole very neatly replies : " They may employ their time, on that day, in reading books calculated to corrupt their moral and religious principles, as well as habits. The whole system of school teaching is abstractly a secular employment, and if that consideration is a sufficient objection to *writing* it will be to *reading* also, which, if admitted, has a direct tendency to abolish the whole of what a great part of the Christian world is now ardently embracing. It is a secular employment, but for a religious purpose ; and, I think, it would be wrong to object, because temporal advantage attaches to it." [3]

These early records [4] emphasise not only the evangelical aim of the first Adult Schools, but also their moral value as

[1] " The teaching of writing was much debated ; except in Nottingham we should question whether arithmetic was even discussed. To read the Bible appeared a religious *sine qua non*, but against writing not only was its secularity alleged, but imaginative persons seemed to have pictured the perils of forgery by the poor." Rowntree and Binns, *op. cit.* p. 13. A deputation sent by the Teachers' Meeting of the Severn Street School, Birmingham, to the Nottingham School in 1846 " were surprised to find arithmetic was also taught to the young men," and made the remark : " We imagine that persons who learn Arithmetic on First-day will soon think it no harm to keep their accounts or even transact business on that day." *The Story of the Severn Street and Priory First-day Schools*, p. 79.

[2] Cf. pp. 169-172 *supra*.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 74. He argues further that writing helps spelling, that improving texts may be used as copies, and that after all it is only taught in one school—a women's school—at Bristol, and there it is optional ! Also he observes that writing may be essential to the performance of Christian duties such as committing pious reflections to paper, or sending counsel to a distant friend.

[4] Beside Dr. Pole's *History* must be placed the *History of Adult Schools* by J. F. Winks, of Gainsborough, published in 1821. A

an antidote to the vice and crime to which the poor were regarded by their richer brethren as peculiarly liable. This was an argument employed by nearly all the advocates of adult education in the first half of the nineteenth century. We find it again in connection with the Mechanics' Institutes movement, as well as in the exhortations of free-lances like Lovett and Cooper. There can be little doubt that each of these efforts towards the enlightenment of the masses was supported by public men for social and political as much as for religious reasons. The Lord Mayor of London presided

copy of this is in the Leicester City Library. I owe the opportunity of reading a transcript of it to the courtesy of Mr. George Peverett, of the National Adult School Union. Based largely upon Dr. Pole, it contains much additional information, especially concerning developments in Lincolnshire. An interesting sidelight on Winks himself, as well as upon the early Schools, is supplied by the old Chartist, Thomas Cooper, who tells how he, with Joseph Winks, "a draper's assistant and son of a respectable tradesman of the town," together with one or two other young men in Gainsborough, formed a Mutual Improvement Society for weekly making of speeches or reading of essays. This was for their own benefit, but Winks' proposal was "above all that we should be determined to establish an Adult School, on Sundays, for teaching the poor and utterly uneducated to read." This was done, somewhere between 1821 and 1824, but we hear no more about it in detail from Thomas Cooper than a couple of sentences: "The zeal and energy of Winks, in the conduct of that school, were very noble; and the school was instrumental in effecting a great deal of good. But when Winks left the town, the elder men who formed the Committee decided to close the school, under the profession that they could not raise the necessary expenses." *Life of Thomas Cooper*, by himself (edn. of 1897), pp. 46-7. When Cooper went to Leicester in 1840 he found Winks there, established as a bookseller, and devoting himself also to work as a Baptist preacher and an editor of small religious periodicals. They continued their close friendship, but Winks would have nothing to do with Chartism, to which Cooper was committed. Cooper obtained the use of a small room and started the "The Shaksperian Association of Leicester Chartists." He writes: "As soon as the Shaksperian Room was secured, I formed an adult Sunday-school, for men and boys, who were at work on the week-days. All the more intelligent in our ranks gladly assisted as teachers, and we soon had our room filled on Sunday mornings and afternoons. The Old and New

in 1815 at a public meeting at the New London Tavern, Cheapside, "to consider the propriety of instituting a Society for teaching Adult Persons, within the City of London, to read." The Society was duly founded, with the Lord Mayor as President, and the Recorder and sundry aldermen among the vice-presidents, because "the moral and political importance of such a Society on a general scale for the City of London, must be obvious to every reflecting mind, when it is considered that the aggregate of crimes with which our goals (*sic*) are crowded, is, upon authentic information, attributable in a great degree to ignorance." [1]

Testaments, Channing's 'Self-Culture,' and other tracts, of which I do not remember the names, formed our class books. And we fancifully named our classes, not first, second, third, etc., but the 'Algernon Sidney Class,' 'Andrew Marvel Class,' 'John Hampden Class,' 'John Milton Class,' 'William Tell Class,' 'George Washington Class,' 'Major Cartwright Class,' 'William Cobbett Class,' and so on." This was in 1842. He continues: "We now usually held one or two meetings in the Shaksperian Room on week-nights, as well as on Sunday night. Unless there were some stirring local or political topic, I lectured on Milton, and repeated portions of the 'Paradise Lost,' or on Shakespeare, and repeated portions of 'Hamlet,' or on Burns, and repeated 'Tam o' Shanter'; or I recited the history of England, and set the portraits of great Englishmen before young Chartists who listened with intense interest; or I took up Geology or even Phrenology, and made the young men acquainted, elementally, with the knowledge of the time." But the school had to be given up, largely as a result of the demoralisation caused by bad trade and unemployment. "We closed the adult school—partly because the fine weather drew the men into the fields, and partly because they were too despairing to care about learning to read. Let some who read this mark what I am recording. We had not many profane men in our ranks, but we had a few; and when I urged them not to forsake school, their reply was, 'What the hell do we care about reading, if we get nought to eat?'" (*Op. cit.* pp. 154, 169, 172.)

[1] *Quoted by Pole, op. cit.* p. 28. The Southwark Society, founded in 1814, was called "The Southwark Society for the Education of Adults," *ibid.* pp. 23-24. Pole himself links the various aspects of the movement together admirably in a sentence: "Thus commenced the Schools for Adults in Bristol in the benevolent exertions of a poor, humble, and almost unlettered individual, whose example

We are told that "in most of the places where schools are established, many persons of opulence and influence have patronised the undertaking." Certainly the lists of officers and committees bristle with the names of lords and ladies, Members of Parliament, clergy and ministers. The Prince Regent became patron of a society founded for the promotion of Adult Schools in Buckinghamshire and Berkshire. The Duke of Kent spoke of the Schools as "an object of national importance." [1] The movement was defended, and the active sympathy of the educated and well-to-do was claimed, with a quaint mixture of cunning and common sense. If poor people were taught in this way they would be able to teach their children, and thus fewer ordinary schools and less expenditure upon them would be necessary! The teaching given to children was, in the prevailing conditions of life among the poor, often nullified by the bad example of untaught and undisciplined parents. Great waste of natural capacity, and consequently direct loss to the country, were caused by leaving so large a number of the population in a state of illiteracy. The sense of gratitude and justice demanded that this recompense of education should be given to the workpeople whose toil provided others with the necessities and comforts of life. On the other hand, there were strings of anecdotes about the moral reformation wrought in the lives of those who came to the Schools. The citizens of Bristol rejoiced that crime in the locality had decreased by one-fourth since the Schools began. A noted gang of thieves at Kingswood had been influenced, and had voluntarily helped in the erection of

soon excited similar feelings of Christian philanthropy in the minds of many others, disposed to patronise a design that afforded so bright a prospect of advantage to the poor, as well as to the moral, political, and religious state of the community at large; and which promise under the direction of the Supreme Controller of events, to become a very important means of inculcating the great truths of Christianity amongst those classes of our fellow-creatures who have been hitherto unhappily neglected, and suffered to remain in a state of lamentable degradation and moral turpitude." *Op. cit.* pp. 10, 11.

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 22-26, 94.

some new school buildings on their old pitch. One passage in Dr. Pole's *History* laments that the Peace (after Waterloo) should have been celebrated by bonfires and illuminations, instead of by using the money thus wasted for providing the means of teaching the illiterate, and thereby making a real contribution to national reconstruction—a point that recalls to readers of to-day many things said and written after the Peace of 1918.[1]

Nor was this all. Workers in the Schools sought out classes of the population even more needy than the merely poor and illiterate. There is the famous reference in the first edition of Dr. Pole's book [2] (omitted from the second, though the facts are retained) to the school set up by "some of the most amiable, pious, and modest young females of this city" for prostitutes in the back streets of Bristol—an enterprise which resulted in the establishment of "The Refuge House," where women were lodged and taught certain industries.[3] Dr. Pole also quotes his correspondence with Benjamin Burritt, an American prisoner of war, who taught his fellow-prisoners, American and French, in Stapleton Prison, while he reports the existence of a School in the City Bridewell. To this Winks adds particulars of widely extended prison work;[4] he is enthusiastic about Adult

[1] Cf. Pole, *op. cit.* pp. 18, 61, 68, 70, 78. See also Winks, *op. cit. passim.*

[2] p. 41.

[3] *Op. cit.* pp. 52-3.

[4] "Schools of instruction for prisoners have been opened (particularly by ladies) in the prisons at Bedford, Durham, Chelmsford, Winchester and Maidstone; and in Leicester, Warwick, Shrewsbury, Worcester, and other houses of correction—and much benefit has been the uniform result. In the Teachers' Magazine for September, 1821, there are very interesting accounts of Schools in York Castle, Carrickfergus gaol, and Newgate. . . . At Bristol there are two schools in the City Bridewell. Dr. Pole mentions the possibility of commencing them in infirmaries, hospitals, almshouses, workhouses, etc." A happy anticipation of the work done among prisoners in the twentieth century by members of Adult Schools, and of the recent arrangements for adult education in prisons made by H.M. Prison Commissioners with the co-operation of the Adult Education Committee of the Board of Education!

Schools for sailors and quotes an instance at Bristol (" in a vessel, we believe,") while he speaks of the possibilities in the army, and among the " dark, degraded gipsies." [1]

All this, however, did not affect the primacy of the evangelical purpose cherished by the Adult School pioneers. Winks' narrative reads like a home missionary report; the whole burden of it is the extent to which men and women have entered into a transforming religious experience as a result of becoming able to read the Scriptures for themselves, and the same note predominates in Dr. Pole's book. The Churches lent their aid—or at least a number of their most devoted leaders and workers did. The unsectarian nature of the Schools was carefully safeguarded, and the positive effect upon the denominations of sharing a common task proved very salutary.[2] Narrow as the creeds of that day often were, and dead to the moral and social challenge of its time as the Church of the eighteenth century had been, these activities of the Adult Schools show that religion arrived at a truer estimate of spiritual values as it perceived, and sought to relieve, the human needs confronting it. The language of the early historians of the movement may appear to us to-day by turns pietistic and patronising. They may occasionally seem to appeal to unworthy fears or to sheer

[1] Cf. Hudson, " The Mechanics' Institution at Wellingborough has been held in the workhouse for ten years, and flourishes." *Op. cit.* p. 195.

[2] Pole objects even to opening Schools with prayer, since this was an act of worship and might be held to infringe the principle of denominational neutrality. Winks, on the other hand, in the elaborate model " rules " that he sets forth, demands that every meeting shall be opened and closed with prayer. They agree in recording unanimity of spirit among their workers. Winks says: " We form a sort of Sunday School republic, in which may be recognised the Episcopalian, Independent, Baptist, Friend, Methodist, and Modern Primitive Methodist and Providence Chapel Teachers." Pole writes: " Ministers, as well as others, of almost every denomination in this city (Bristol) are cordially united " in the work of the Schools, and he hails the movement, together with the British and Foreign Bible Society, with which it was so closely connected, as the healers of sectarian divisions. *Op. cit.* pp. 13, 102.

selfishness in the "respectable" whose aid they sought. But beneath this there were both idealism and the spirit of service. With irony and a touch of moral passion they made effective retort to people who wished to hinder their work. If in their theology and their social theory they were a long way behind us, they were, nevertheless, in these matters far ahead of many of their contemporaries.[1] A little

[1] "We seek in vain through most of these earlier schools for that wholesome and quickening spirit of Christian equality without which philanthropy, charity, and 'religious work' degenerate into forms of patronage and interference. A too condescending interest in the 'labouring poor' is patent in the writing of our worthy Bristol friend (Dr. Pole). Destitute of the democratic constitution which is essential to their modern successors, these early adult schools were simply undenominational Bible classes for adults. Their unsectarianism was so extreme that it seriously limited their usefulness, since it resulted in the exclusion of that necessary explanation without formulary which even the Education Act of 1870 recognised in the Bible lessons given under the School Boards it created. These deficiencies, and the hour at which they were held, may perhaps account for their impermanence. Such work as they attempted was probably better done by definitely sectarian agencies." Rowntree and Binns, *op. cit.* p. 13. Against this may be set Dr. Pole's answer to current objections to instructing the poor—chiefly that this "will have the injurious tendency of placing them above their stations in life"; people are afraid there will be no servants "to undertake the menial, domestic, and commercial employments; but that, aiming to be equal with their masters and mistresses, and excited by human pride, there is a danger of their attempting to throw off all subordination to their superiors." He reminds the objectors that, "by reason of the nature of human society," "the reciprocal dependence of the poor upon the rich for their support, and of the rich upon the poor for their labour, must, through all progressive improvements, absolutely and necessarily exist; and the duties which the several classes owe to each other, will be more conscientiously regarded than could be expected in a state of ignorance and vice." He cites the happy experience of Scotland, and proceeds: "If servants should become more virtuous than their masters, and the pious example of these should influence the minds of their superiors or put to shame the more irreligious conduct of their employers, I trust no evil consequences to society, or to individuals, need be apprehended from such an event." He slyly suggests that an educated servant is more useful and agreeable than an illiterate one. Then he hits out: "If

sense of humour is required in reading what they wrote, but, given this, it is not difficult to see that they had both public spirit and breadth of view. The evangelical purpose does not conflict with that of the reformer and the citizen ; the man is not lost in the philanthropist. Queer as the childish discipline and the words of command suggested for use in the Schools may be, the insistence upon a real sympathy with pupils on the part of teachers, and upon avoiding all that would make these unlearned folk too sensitive of their ignorance, is notable in comparison with the superior attitude far too common then.[1]

From Bristol the movement spread to various parts of the country, and then it penetrated to other lands. Accounts of its actual extent vary.[2] Certainly after about twenty

he (the master) should entertain an opinion that, in consequence of their ignorance, they will be more likely to submit to unreasonable hardships imposed upon them, or that such will best suit him in the transactions of a nefarious commerce, his motive is base and dishonourable." Such exploiters there are, he says, and they are mischievous. But though "equalisation of the various ranks of civil society in regard to secular concerns can never take place, at least in the present state of manhood, yet there is a Christian equalisation, which would tend greatly to promote the happiness of the world at large, and this is the direct tendency of the religion of our Holy Redeemer, Who Himself, great and exalted as He was, condescended to wash His disciples' feet." So he urges the "professors of Christianity" to regard themselves as "the tender, the benevolent, the sympathising guardians of the poor." Finally he hurls at his opponents a scathing passage from St. James. *Op. cit.* pp. 56-58.

[1] Cf. Pole, *op. cit.* pp. 35, 117.

[2] The first annual Report of the Bristol Society, in April 1813, showed nine schools for men and nine for women, with 222 men and 232 women under instruction, the total number taught during the year being 1508 ; there were also four Congregational Adult Schools not under the jurisdiction of the Society. London, Plymouth, Bradnich, Salisbury, Uxbridge, Sheffield, Norwich, Yarmouth, Ipswich and Bungay are mentioned as having started Schools. (Pole, *op. cit.*, first edn., p. 23.) In his second edition Dr. Pole corrects this list slightly, but mentions other towns also, and gives up the attempt to specify all the places where schools were in existence. He speaks of many abroad. The figures he gives

years a steady decline set in. But by 1849 it was estimated that 30,000 men and women had learned to read in Adult Schools in England, besides many who had attended without that amount of success, while the number then under instruction was put at 800.[1] Dr. Hudson says that by 1850 " nearly all the Adult Schools which were in operation from 1815 to 1818 have long ceased to exist." He quotes from Adult School Committee Reports three causes for their gradual shrinkage—want of competent teachers, the error of mixing children with adults, and the strong objection to teaching

in 1816 refer to Bristol, and record 24 schools for men and 31 for women, with 732 men and 849 women scholars, the total admissions since the commencement being 3321. Winks describes many other schools in England, and speaks, in 1821, of a world-membership of 10,000, but apparently both he and Pole set down as adult schools all the instances they knew of missionaries teaching adults to read in Asia, Africa, and the South Sea Islands. (*Op. cit.* pp. 21-22, 30-34.) Hudson's account of the Adult Schools is taken (without acknowledgment) from Pole, so far as the *History of Adult Schools* serves. (Hudson, *op. cit.* pp. 1-12.) He then quotes from the Bristol Society's Report for 1832 a table showing 15 men's schools with 405 scholars and 16 women's schools with 708 scholars, but the table refers to " 100 schools relinquished." (Hudson, *op. cit.* p. 13.) In 1834 Bristol had 36 schools with 408 men and 268 women, and in 1843, 12 men's and 13 women's, while in 1849 there were only 10 men's with 200 members and 8 women's with 180 women. He states that Bath had 7 schools in 1846. All the other information he gives relates to the Bristol Benevolent Evening Schools for working boys, which began in 1807, and ten years later had begun to teach adults also, continuing to do so at any rate up till 1849, and the Adult School connected with the Scripture Knowledge Institution of Bristol (*ibid.* pp. 15-18), together with a few schools scattered over the country and mainly conducted by ministers and clergy (*ibid.* pp. 19-20). Rowntree and Binns dismiss this whole early period in two or three pages on the " small adult schools for Bible reading only, in Bristol and other parts of the country " (*op. cit.* pp. 11-13). Possibly they take into account only Schools started by Quakers, or perhaps they prefer not to say anything of Schools of which they have not first-hand records before them. But evidently their chief interest is in the second period, which began in Birmingham in 1845.

[1] Hudson, *op. cit.* pp. 22-23.

the poor to write. Probably he is even nearer the mark himself when he concludes that they continued steadily to increase in numbers and extent, "each religious denomination exerting itself in the good work, until from the general improvement of the people effected by these and other means, new wants were created and the Mechanics' and Apprentices' Libraries, and Mechanics' Institutions sprang up in various parts of Britain, offering a new field for the working man to extend the little knowledge he had acquired in these humble seminaries. The adult schools, even for instruction in reading, were still universally required, and another cycle of ten years supplied fresh evidence of their continued value." He particularly remarks that the London Schools lapsed sooner than the others, "owing rather to the apathy evinced by the labouring population than to their superior intelligence!" He also deplores the decline of women's adult schools, "as much on account of the domestic servants as any class of this great community," but says that servants would have been only too glad to attend if the schools had been available.[1]

Evidently the term "adult school" was broadly applied,

[1] Hudson, *op. cit.* pp. 18-25. "The fact cannot be concealed, that the education of the domestic servant in this country has been grossly neglected. Ladies have not unfrequently been found to confide in the illiterate domestic, believing that one of superior intelligence would prove less obedient, respectful, and trustworthy. The precepts of morality and virtue can neither be too early nor too late instilled into their minds, for when once they have received virtuous cultivation the mistress is benefited in proportion to the extent of their intelligence. The merchant owes much to the intelligence of his clerk; the tradesman to the general knowledge of his assistant; and the housewife has an interest no less important in the modesty and reflection of her domestic. . . . A large proportion of these schools have ceased to exist, not from failure, but from having to a great extent answered the object for which they were established. A rising generation has found an increased number of schools, with parents awakening to the importance of education; themselves rising in the scale of intelligence, and desiring a wider circle of knowledge than merely one book, although that book is more precious than all the productions of man."

in those early days, to any gathering of men and women together, especially on Sundays, in order to teach them to read. It was not always "for a religious purpose," as Dr. Pole puts it. Neither were such schools always organised by middle or upper class people. In some cases the work went considerably beyond learning to read. The whole project, however, clearly had in view the religious, or at least the moral, intellectual, and social progress of men and women almost hopelessly handicapped by the new industrial conditions. Whether the response of those who attended the adult schools was due to their desire to read the Bible and to learn the way of salvation, as their mentors fondly hoped, or whether their wish to learn to read was merely a symbol of their desire for general betterment, there is no evidence to determine. In any event it was a mark of the perpetual striving of the human spirit towards freedom and self-realisation. It was a spiritual response to a spiritual appeal.

2. REVIVAL OF THE ADULT SCHOOL MOVEMENT

After the practical cessation of the earlier movement came a second period of great activity, due largely to the work of the Society of Friends. Two notable men left their mark on the quarter of a century between the revival of the Adult School Movement in 1845 and the passing of the Education Act in 1870. The first of these was a Quaker named Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, a man of wide and vivid interests, as keenly devoted to politics as he was to religion. Thomas Cooper tells us a good deal about Joseph Sturge, and about his own relationships with him, in his *Life*, where Sturge appears as a leader in radical agitation, an unsuccessful candidate who had the support of the Chartists in the Parliamentary election at Nottingham in 1841,[1] when he opposed Walter, of *The Times*. Cooper calls him "the noble philanthropist."

Sturge had seen the adult school at Nottingham during his "electoral errand," and after some thought he suggested to some of his younger friends in 1845 that they should

[1] Thomas Cooper, *op. cit.* p. 156, etc.

attempt something of the kind in Birmingham, he himself being in middle age and deeply immersed in affairs. He was concerned with " the deplorable scenes observable in Birmingham on Sundays ; unwashed laziness lounging in narrow streets and courts, troops of boys making mischief with trees, hedgerows, and fences, or playing at ' pitch and toss ' in the suburbs." The appeal to the young men, whom he reminded of " their own advantage of education and Christian training," succeeded, and the Severn Street First-day School began, " conducted by some younger members of the Society of Friends, but which was founded and carried on without sectarian spirit." [1]

The resolution instituting the school defined it as " especially for those who had not been in the way of receiving instruction in other schools " ; the handbill distributed to prospective members described it as " chiefly for the purpose of affording instruction in reading the Scriptures and in writing." No one under fourteen years of age was to be admitted, and the hundred or so who came on the first Sunday evening were " many of them in the darkest ignor-

[1] *The Story of Severn Street*, etc., p. 8. Sturge is thus described : " Engaged in extensive commercial transactions and leading an active business life, he was no mere sordid accumulator of wealth, but kept his heart and his purse alike open to the claims of suffering humanity. Joseph Sturge had already taken a large part in the abolition of Negro Slavery in the British Colonies, and in the interest of the slaves had undertaken an arduous voyage to the West Indian Islands. At the period under review, Joseph Sturge and his brother Charles, with Cobden, Bright, Villiers, and many other patriots and philanthropists, were engaged in doing battle against the Corn Laws, the navigation laws, and other restrictions on the freedom of trade and commerce, which produced so much poverty and distress periodically among large masses of the population, and who were consequently less well fed and worse clothed and housed than at the present time " (*ibid.*). The familiar difficulties were encountered : " Many objections were started at first by good men. . . . Among others who objected was the clergyman of a neighbouring church, who somewhat strongly protested against the ' unchristian ' practice adopted of teaching *writing* as well as reading on Sunday " (*ibid.*). Cf. Stephen Hobhouse : *Joseph Sturge, His Life and Work* (1919), esp. pp. 166-172.

ance, unable to tell the letters of the alphabet, and by their disorderly conduct appeared to be quite destitute of moral or religious training." Soon the hour of meeting was changed to 7 a.m. Men came as well as youths, rather to the dismay of the teachers. A separate class was formed for these "outlaws," and in the course of a year or two the Men's School became an entity. By 1845 there were 174 men in four classes. In the jubilee year, 1895, there were 3411 in classes scattered all over Birmingham. A Women's School was started in 1848, and flourished as greatly as the men's, reaching in 1894 the total number of 968. Mr. Sturge, during the remainder of his lifetime, greatly helped the Schools, providing breakfast for the teachers on Sunday mornings, when he himself presided and afterwards read a chapter of the Bible at the opening of the School. Social activities sprang up, but also there were educational items, additional to the Sunday classes, on the programme. As early as 1848 we hear of a week-day lecture on the Solar System, and there is a general reference to "occasional lectures" to the men. On the other hand, the work of actually teaching men to read was carried on in elementary sections by scholar-students, the main occupation of the ordinary classes being Bible-study on a broader basis. The general method is thus described: "The first hour is devoted to writing; one of the scholars and a teacher then read a chapter aloud, and the remainder of the time is devoted to scripture reading, spelling, and questioning by the teacher." Occasionally a general address was given.[1] A library was set up and well used. By 1880 one of the classes had erected a special building "which would be freely used all days of the week for the objects of educational, social, and

[1] Rowntree and Binns, *op. cit.* p. 15, after referring to this, remark: "It seems hardly necessary to observe that at Severn Street, as at the earlier schools, the object was at first much more purely 'educational,' in the narrow sense, than it has since become. Faith in the moral results of simple elementary education was at that time more widely spread than at the present; and this probably explains the willingness of teachers to use the Bible, or portions of it, as a reading book, without seriously attempting to explain its many obscurities."

religious improvement which invariably surround these schools."

In 1892 the Schools co-operated with the Oxford University Extension Movement in arranging courses of lectures, a previous effort made by the " Edgbaston Ladies' Association for Useful Work " having failed. The Adult School leaders took up the matter, " the object of the promoters being chiefly to provide an interest in subjects which will help to build up a sense of the duties and responsibilities of Christian citizenship." The Teachers' Meeting appointed three representatives on the Committee of Management. Three courses, chiefly historical, were carried through between 1892 and 1895, and the historian of Severn Street regards this as " one of the most successful results " of the Schools. " The attendance has varied between 200 and 550, and the centre is regarded by the Oxford authorities as one of the most promising in the country." Other adult schools besides the Severn Street ones participated, as did the Priory Schools for women, which had representatives on the Committee. The women throughout had been even more interested in educational activities, apparently, than the men. At an early stage in their development as a School they had " week-night classes for teaching other subjects." [1] A sewing school, exhibitions of handicraft, visits to picture galleries, and lectures on hygiene, nursing, ambulance and cookery, are included in the programme, and it is remarked that " good papers have been written on these subjects by some of the scholars." Throughout this period in Birmingham the old evangelical motive was undoubtedly kept in the

[1] " This adjunct to the First-day School seems to have had a peculiar work of its own. It has been a means of opening the eyes of our scholars to the wider work of every-day science and life which lies outside our own doors, whilst subjects of hygiene and thrift have also claimed attention."

" It has been a source of interest to teachers to watch the development of an independence of thought, and a healthy, self-reliance amongst the girls, whilst the greater freedom which was possible in an evening school seemed to allow the ties of friendship to ripen and deepen amongst the scholars." *Severn Street*, pp. 104-105.

forefront, but with it went a direct effort to enrich the mental life of the scholars, and to quicken their interest in all that would make them fuller personalities and finer citizens. Also, though the Teachers' Meeting remained the governing authority, it is significant that conferences were held with scholars in order that criticism and suggestions might freely be offered by the men and women in the schools, while one man is quoted as saying that he looked forward to his School " so that I might have the pleasure of meeting men far superior to myself, who were always ready to make me their equal for the time being." [1]

After Joseph Sturge, perhaps the greatest personal force in the revival of the Adult School movement was William White, who had been brought up as a Wesleyan in Reading, began business in Birmingham in 1848 as a bookseller and printer, and became deeply interested in the older scholars at Severn Street. He proceeded to urge the importance of the work among adults upon Friends through the Friends' First-day School Association, founded by Joseph Sturge at Birmingham in 1847,[2] but then, and for a long time afterwards, chiefly concerned with Sunday Schools for children. At the beginning of the second half of the century the number of men and women in adult schools throughout the country probably did not reach 500. By the end of the century it had grown to 50,000. From William White came the

[1] The information and quotations in these paragraphs are derived from *The Story of the Severn Street and Priory First-day Schools, Birmingham*, passim. An excellent sketch of the religious and social work done by the Birmingham Schools during this period will be found in A. G. Gardiner's account of the late George Cadbury's devotion to " Class XIV.," through which 4000 men passed while he was teacher : *Life of George Cadbury* (1923), Ch. 4 : " The Adult School," pp. 39-58.

[2] " This linked together the various Adult and other Sunday Schools conducted by members of the Society of Friends. For the last thirty years it has been recognised by the Friends' Yearly Meeting, and since 1893 has annually reported to that body. It may, therefore, be regarded as a part, although an independent part, of the official machinery of Quakerism." Rowntree and Binns, *op. cit.* p. 20.

inspiration of what may almost be regarded as a new movement.[1]

That William White was thoroughly alive to the ordinary needs and interests of men is shown by his endeavours to broaden out the work of the schools until they became social as well as religious centres. As a result of his efforts, the Friends' Adult Schools rapidly increased in number. This led to activity on the part of the other religious bodies, and in 1871 there was an inter-denominational committee formed to extend adult schools in Birmingham. Among the Friends themselves the growth very often occurred as the direct result of work among children.[2]

After 1870 the non-Quaker adult schools increased considerably in number, but no details or statistics appear to be available. The Leicester one was at first known as the Leicester and County Working Men's Educational Union. A national council was suggested, and finally its first meeting was held in Leicester under the presidency of William White in 1899. At the end of 1901 the adult schools of the Friends' First-day School Association showed a membership of 30,060 out of the 50,000 already given as an estimate of the total number of scholars in the country about that time.[3]

[1] Rowntree and Binns, *op. cit.* pp. 19-20. The *History* was published in 1903.

[2] "The older boys and girls would often form senior classes which became the nuclei of adult schools when they began to arouse interest in the minds of Friends." An interesting offshoot from the development of the schools outside the Society of Friends was the starting of a school connected with Ebenezer Chapel at West Bromwich by John Blackham, a Congregationalist, who was afterwards one of the founders of the Midland Adult Sunday School Society, and who in 1875 inaugurated Pleasant Sunday Afternoons. "These were at first regarded as a branch of adult school work, the other schools being spoken of as Early Morning Schools by way of distinction." (*ibid.* pp. 21-26).

[3] "The future historian of Adult Schools will find some difficulty in furnishing an adequate account of the rise of the purely non-sectarian movement. A fairly complete record of the Quaker schools has been kept from the beginning, and is accessible to the studious enquirer who will excavate among the mounds of old

While, as we have seen, the elementary work of teaching men and women to read and write was continued in some degree, and on the other hand a certain number of classes and lecture-courses in various subjects were organised, the discussion of the Bible in relation to the practical questions of everyday life became the staple of adult school work. It was accomplished in various ways. Sometimes a chapter was read by the class and expounded by the teacher with, perhaps, questions by the scholars. In other cases there was more general discussion and the function of the teacher was rather to draw out the contributions of the members. Among the Quaker Schools it was found that one source of temporary decline was the tendency of some teachers to insist upon too literalist an interpretation of the Bible. Working men were shy of the churches, but they were eager to get at the truth on questions of belief. In workshops and in the popular press, especially towards the end of the century, there were blatant attacks upon the Bible and upon Christianity. At the same time, there was evidence that working people desired not only knowledge but spiritual fellowship. Directly they set out to understand the Bible and its application more fully, they found themselves confronted with problems in science, history and other fields which they desired to explore. These features of the general growth of the movement are indicated by the historians of this period here and there,[1] though they themselves seem to be mainly concerned with the need of a kind of undenominational church for the people, and for the provision alongside of this, or as part of it, of social centres which would both serve as a counter-attraction to the undesirable recreations of the time and as centres for the expression of the Christian spirit of social service.

reports and magazines. But with the non-Quaker schools the case is somewhat different, and definite historical information is difficult to obtain, except from the minute books and registers of individual schools. This arises largely from the fact that until recent years the schools were isolated units with no federating organisation." (*ibid.* pp. 35-43).

[1] Rowntree and Binns, *op. cit.* pp. 24-50.

One passage suggests that the whole programme has been broadened out. It refers, of course, to the situation in about 1900. "What impresses a visitor to some of the country schools is the fresh and practical spirit which is in evidence. Here are men of the village working out for themselves the most profitable method of spending an hour and a half of their Sunday leisure, and they appear to bring to the problem a healthy independence of thought and an ability for co-operation which promise well for the future. The hearty spirit of the school affirms that the members feel they are accomplishing their purpose, and are not merely pursuing an established convention. The breadth of their platform seems to ensure for them the active assistance of all earnest, broad-minded men—so that there should be no arrested growth, consequent on a scarcity of teachers. The first half-hour is still utilised as a time of general instruction. Dictation will sometimes take the place of copy-book writing; or the teachers from the public schools will give short lessons in history, science, or geography. The savings fund is much in evidence. Collections are freely made for charitable purposes. The Bible reading or religious instruction of the school varies very much in character. In one class great freedom of discussion is permitted and encouraged; at another all discussion is deprecated. There seems to be a general determination to exclude from the schools anything like partisan addresses; and there is no welcome to the agents of other organisations as such, however useful their purpose. This is not a limitation of the school's scope; it is a deliberate recognition of the claims of unity and catholicity of spirit, and liberty of conviction. The Adult School exists for the purpose of developing the religious spirit among its members, and this justifies the exclusion of all speakers who wish to use its platform for any other purposes whatever. Even free discussion cannot, as a rule, neutralise the schismatical and narrowing effect of dogmatic or partisan teaching. The ultimate purpose of the school is to intensify the social spirit by associating men together for the free study of the deeper problems of life, viewed in

relation to the ideal of manhood set before them in the Gospels—it aims to lead men to think truly and nobly, rather even, than to give them true and noble thoughts. Such, at least, is the impression gathered by us." [1]

Towards the end of the century two types of class had developed. There is one in which the company of men is divided up into groups, under leaders who consider and discuss the lesson; while, in the united class that follows, the president is chairman rather than teacher, endeavouring to evoke and guide discussion. In the other the school divided into elementary classes for reading and writing and a "central" class which listened to a lecture on some scientific or historical subject. Afterwards all gathered together to listen to a half-hour's discourse by the teacher (not in this case called a president) and to ask questions. But the men made no preparation for the lesson, and the course was not consecutive, "the teacher often preferring to select his lesson in connection with some recent or prospective event, which happens to be of immediate interest. A great catastrophe of Nature, some Bill of importance before the legislature, the crowning of a monarch, the death of a preacher or statesman, local horse-races, the public-house evil, or some recent book upon social or religious questions are all in their turn suitable to his purpose. On these occasions it is the usual practice to expound the Scripture and make use of the selected events by way of illustration." [2]

The introduction by the Birmingham Schools of a wider scheme of education (indicated particularly by the University Extension Courses) was no doubt due to William White, and probably his influence in the country brought about similar extension of general educational work.[3] We shall at any rate

[1] Rowntree and Binns, *op. cit.* pp. 57-58. Speaking of the Bradford Schools, they say: "The old Bible lesson and homely discussion seemed in some of the classes to be giving place to a debate inaugurated by a speaker 'from outside.'"

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 67-68.

[3] Little is said about this by Rowntree and Binns in their *History*. It may have been that in 1903, when the *History* first appeared, as

see, when we come to consider the work carried on by Adult Schools during the first quarter of the twentieth century, how closely related this has been to such activities as those of the University Extension, the W.E.A. and the University Tutorial Classes. We shall also see how, in many cases, the " first half hour " has for many years past been devoted to more or less regular study of literary, scientific, international, economic and other topics, while, in Adult Schools of to-day which have premises of their own and an all-the-week programme, class and lecture course have a regular place. The seeds were sown in the time of William White. The study of the Bible was in itself educative in the best sense. From point to point the reaction of the movement to the circumstances of the time is clearly marked. Thus in Yorkshire it was found, when the Education Act of 1870 had begun to take effect, that working-men were attracted to the schools because " the evident advantage of learning to write was brought home to the men by their children." But twenty years later, when these same children had become men, a decline took place in the membership of the schools. " The nature of the problem itself changed. Working men no longer wanted to be taught to write ; other opportunities opened out for the encouragement of thrift ; the more intelligent found their evenings largely occupied in committee work for friendly, co-operative, and trade societies, and thus had less leisure to employ in such work as the Adult School provides. The P.S.A. movement, and the opening of denominational Bible classes for men at various places of worship provided for some of the needs which the Adult School had originally met. The denominational

articles written by the editors in *Present Day Papers*, the other aspects of Adult Schools appeared more important to the writers. They remark, however, that : " Adult Schools have passed the elementary stage when reading and writing were considerable items in their curriculum. Not only so, but the lessons have advanced somewhat from their simple character, and touch a wider range of subjects. Questions which at first would never occur become inevitable as discussion, thought and increasing knowledge give them shape " (p. 76).

character of the Schools carried on exclusively by a religious body so strongly characterised in political as well as in religious views as the Quakers, became in some districts, and especially at certain times, a cause of limitation. The attitude of the thoughtful working man towards the Bible was changing, and Friends were not always ready to take advantage of the strong position in which their own spiritual testimony ought to have placed them." [1]

As the end of the century approached, the non-Quaker Schools became still more numerous, and showed remarkable vigour and enterprise in their work. The majority of them emphasised the non-sectarian as well as the non-political character of their constitution, and while they drew at least a nucleus of their most active members from the Churches (these members at the same time continuing loyally and fully to participate in the life and work of the Churches to which they belonged), they made special efforts to attract to the adult schools men and women whom the Churches failed to touch.[2]

With the growing freedom of the Schools from denominational influence, and from that somewhat narrow concentration upon instruction in the Bible which followed the earlier concentration upon teaching men and women to read it, may be noted the growingly democratic method of organisation and government prevalent among the Schools. As late as 1902 the Severn Street Teachers' Meeting, self-appointed, was still the federating body of the schools in Birmingham which sprang out of the one founded by Joseph

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 49-53.

[2] "In the history of the Adult Schools it is clear that we have recently entered on what may be termed a fresh stage in the journey. It will be noticed that the striking developments in the last ten years have taken place in Schools which are not under the care of Friends. The Leicestershire movement, for instance, though in the first place it owed much to Quaker initiative, has in its subsequent development been purely inter-denominational.

"In other directions we notice an increasing tendency to go outside the membership of the Society of Friends when adding to the teaching staff" (*ibid.* p. 78).

Sturge. But in the Institutes which had been founded in connection with many Adult Schools, members had a definite share in the government as a general rule. By 1890 it was possible to state in a national conference of the movement held at Birmingham that the prevailing tendency in the schools was illustrated by the increased use of the title " President " instead of " teacher " for the leader, and that " the business of the ideal School is no longer controlled by the teacher or the Teachers' Meeting, but every member has an equal voice and vote in its affairs—even in the annual election of the President." [1] When, in 1893, the Friends' First-day School Association (which then had 24,000 adults among its 40,000 scholars) was reorganised, it was on the basis of allowing each affiliated school to appoint representatives to district committees, which again appointed to the general committee. The same principle was followed in framing the constitution of the National Adult School Union in 1899, but the Union was made representative of the whole movement, thus bringing together both Quaker and non-Quaker schools.[2]

Thus the period from 1845 to 1870, and still more the period from 1870 to 1900, witnessed in the Adult School movement a great expansion of the range of work to the point where education in fellowship is for the service of society in the spirit of Jesus Christ. From the religious and social philanthropy of men like Joseph Sturge and William

[1] Rowntree and Binns, *op. cit.* pp. 28-30, 36-37.

[2] The Friends' First-day Schools Association gave way to the National Adult School Union so far as adult school work was concerned, confining itself thenceforth to work among children, until in 1922 the Friends' Central Education Committee was formed for the promotion and co-ordination of all educational work in connection with the Society. The Friends' First-day Schools Association was merged in the Central Education Committee. But ever since the formation of the National Adult School Union the historic link with the Society of Friends has been preserved by the appointment of two members of the National Adult School Union Council, first by the Friends' First-day Schools Association and now by the Central Education Committee.

White, we may trace the development to a leadership at the end of the century which was less philanthropic than fraternal. We see growing among men and women in the movement the demand, not simply for the instruments of education, but for the thing itself, and for that high type of fellowship and community life to which it is the key. There is also gradually brought into play that practice in democratic self-government which has so great an educational value. By 1903 the Adult Schools had proved their claim to be a spiritual force in every respect. They were recognised as such, not only by the Churches and by people who set definitely religious values before all else, but by those on the other hand who had revolted from religious conventions or had not found their way to conscious religious experience, but who sought in all things the expression of the innermost and noblest in human life as they understood it.

3. THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The Co-operative Movement had its origin in the convictions and experiments of Robert Owen at about the same time as the Adult Schools began at Nottingham and Bristol. It is perhaps desirable to recall the salient features of his life, in order that we may the better understand the educational tradition which he bequeathed to co-operators. In his early years Owen had little more than the customary school education, of which he says it was considered a good education if one could read fluently, write a legible hand, and understand the first four rules of arithmetic.[1] He acquired the habit of reading, and his two years as usher in a school at Newtown, Montgomery, gave him as their only useful fruit, according to his own view, "the habit of teaching others what I know." Later, as a young business man in Manchester, he felt the limitations of his education, though, as he says, he was disillusioned when he became older as to the "acquirements by means of what is called a superior education" of "the wealthy educated class

[1] *Life of Robert Owen, by Himself* (1920 edition), p. 3.

and of all above them."[1] He records his debt to "John Dalton, the Quaker, afterwards the celebrated Dr. Dalton the philosopher, and Mr. Winstanley," then assistants at the Manchester College for the training of Unitarian ministers, whom he used to meet in their rooms for friendly discussions, and through whom he met Coleridge. He became a member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, and wrote a paper for them every session until he left Manchester. When he started his great experiment at New Lanark, he had already made the acquaintance of Lancaster and Bell, both of whom he had assisted substantially, only differing from Bell on the question of denominational instruction. "For," he says, "I immediately perceived the fundamental error of both Church and Dissent, but the beginning of more education, however defective, was much better than the entire neglect of it."[2] To this he traced his own enthusiasm for education. "In following up the subject from that period to the present, my mind has attained the knowledge of the all-importance of education in its true meaning for forming a good character, not merely for the present period, but permanently and universally for the human race." When he set up his "partnership of thirteen shares—each share to be £10,000" in the mills at New Lanark, of which he himself was to hold five, he arranged that "over 5% of our capital and risk, the surplus gains shall be freely expended for the education of the children and the improvement of the workpeople at New Lanark, and for the general improvement of the condition of the persons employed in manufactures"—an example which much later was followed by the Co-operative movement. He believed intensely in seeking to shape character from the outside, and in the supreme importance of early training, while he gives very full accounts of his schools, into which he received children literally almost from birth and provided for them up to the age of twelve. He does not refer to any definite organisation for the further education of the adults, though we hear of evening classes for adults at New

[1] *Life of Robert Owen*, p. 47.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 116.

Lanark.[1] He secured the interest of many public men, including professors of the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, "Lord Liverpool and his cabinet, with Dr. Dutton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the English and Irish Bishops of that day." The Marquis of Lansdowne, Henry Brougham and others paid frequent visits to the New Lanark school and tried to found one on similar lines in London. We have already referred to the dissemination of Owen's ideas by the thousands of people who, as he tells us, went to see New Lanark. His theory was that "true liberty can exist only in a society based on a true knowledge of humanity and constructed to be consistent with that foundation in all its parts, and as a whole. This will constitute the rational system of society which is to give practically the greatest individual liberty that human nature can enjoy, because it will of necessity make each one good, wise, and happy, and such only can ever be trusted with the full amount of individual liberty." He believed that current religions were answerable for fatal prejudice and ignorance, and his desire was to make people "abandon them for a consistent practical religion based on ideas of the Great Creating Power of the Universe."[2] He believed also that circumstances shaped the man, and his purpose was to ensure for everybody physical, moral, social and industrial environment favourable to the true unfolding of human nature. The liberality of his views with regard to religion provoked considerable opposition from the orthodox. In the early stage of his enterprise his friends and sympathisers were mainly of the upper and middle classes, and he says that the operatives and working class were strangers to him and to his views and to his future intentions. Later, however, he won the sympathy of the working classes, who came to

[1] Mr. G. D. H. Cole says: "He became, indeed, the first really creative force for adult education among the workers," but does not afford us any further information on the point. Art. "Educational Ideals of Robert Owen," *Hibbert Journal* for October 1924, p. 138.

[2] *Life of Robert Owen, by Himself*, pp. 170, 131, 148-9, 195, 213, 219. Cf. F. Podmore, *Robert Owen: A Biography*, pp. 111-114, etc.

regard him as the father both of Co-operation and of Socialism.[1]

It will be seen from this that the Co-operative Movement was in origin essentially an educational one, though not directly and primarily in the same sense as the Adult School Movement. Dr. Mansbridge, writing in 1906, ranks it as the leading example of working-class educational organisations which include among their members representatives of all classes.[2] "Co-operative Societies," he says, "have stood revealed as the only working-class organisations which have adopted a persistent educational policy."[3] He shows, however, that it was not until nearly a quarter of a century had passed after Robert Owen had made his beginning in New Lanark, that much was done in the way of adult education by the Co-operative Societies. The Rochdale Pioneers at the outset included educational work among their definite aims, and allocated a fixed percentage of their profits to the cost of it. "It is certain that in the early days the educational funds of societies were frequently devoted to elementary instruction in its literal sense, and that many working people gained some notion of the three 'R's' thereby." But as public provision for elementary education was increased, particularly after the Act of 1870 made it the duty of the State, this work on the part of the Societies was less needed, though "for many years the Co-operative Educational Fund was the means of providing working men with facilities for acquiring much general and, in some

[1] *Ibid.* p. 221. "The then friends of my views, so far as I had discussed them, came in continually increasing numbers—the great majority of these being of the best disposed among the upper class in Church and State, and of the upper portion of the middle class, who were sincerely desirous to improve the conditions of the poor and working class, if it could be done in order, in peace and without a revolution of violence."

Cf. F. Podmore: *Robert Owen: A Biography*, passim.

[2] Article, "Survey of Working Class Educational Movements in England and Scotland," *The Co-operative Wholesale Society's Annual* for 1906, p. 259.

[3] *i.e.* practically throughout the nineteenth century, *ibid.* p. 294.

cases, technical and scientific knowledge." An alteration in 1856 of the Acts of 1852 governing the operations of Friendly, Provident and Industrial Societies, made the use of their funds for educational purposes illegal, but this power was restored in 1862. "Some societies continued, however, to make grants for propaganda purposes, and for many years 'education' and 'propaganda' were almost synonymous terms, not merely with the rank and file of the members, but with most of the Co-operative leaders as well." [1] Two purposes thus appear in the earlier Co-operative efforts. The first was that of diffusing a knowledge of the principles of Co-operation; the second was that of spreading instruction in the technique of Co-operation among the members of the societies.

A new influence was felt throughout the movement when F. D. Maurice, J. M. Ludlow, and their friends threw themselves into it avowedly as an expression in practical life of the Christian principles to which they were so unreservedly committed. Their participation in the actual business was comparatively brief. As we have already noticed, and shall have cause to consider further, the direct and most effective outcome of this Christian Socialist movement was the Working Men's College.[2] Canon Raven, in his study of *Christian Socialism, 1848-1854*, describes the return to education of this group of Christian Co-operators when their effort at the actual establishment and conduct of Co-operative Producers' Associations, through their Society for Promoters of Working Men's Associations, had met with comparative failure.[3] "Either they could continue to study

[1] Cf. Catherine Webb, *Industrial Co-operation* (8th Edn. 1919), pp. 205 ff.

[2] J. M. Ludlow in *The Working Men's College, 1854-1904*, pp. 13-21; A. Mansbridge, *loc. cit.* pp. 261-263.

[3] "With co-operation as a business method they were obviously not specially concerned. They neither were nor had ever pretended to be interested in it except as embodying the principle of their faith. They had always been afraid of developing its outward commercial aspect and thereby obscuring its inward moral meaning." *Op. cit.* 1920, p. 343. Cf. C. Webb, *op. cit.* pp. 78-79.

the problems of co-operative production, to demonstrate its value, and to extend the practice of it—which would mean the continuance of work similar to that which had occupied most of their time during the two years ; or they could try to hasten the coming of the new age of industry by supplying educational facilities which should remedy the defects in character revealed by their experiment." [1] Maurice decided on the latter, and said : " A college expressed to my mind precisely the work that we could undertake, and ought to undertake, as professional men ; we might bungle in this also ; but there seemed to me a manifestly Divine direction towards it in all our previous studies and pursuits. And so far as we could give a hint of the way in which the professional and working classes might co-operate, so far I believed we should help to heal one of the great sores of the commonwealth, counteract the exclusiveness of literary men, undermine the notion that the patronage of rank and wealth is that which is wanted to elevate the labourer." [2] In 1853

[1] C. E. Raven, *op. cit.* p. 344. Cf. also p. 336. " They founded their Associations," says Canon Raven, " watched them as the scientist watches his apparatus or the doctor watches his patient, noted the results week by week for two years, and at last arrived at a two-fold conclusion. They learnt in the first place a confidence in the value of association as a means of reforming industry, and in the possibility of its ultimate success, which no disappointments could shake ; they were prepared to give their lives to the cause on the strength of these two years of trial. But they learnt also that the task was harder than they hoped to find it, that it would take years of progress before it would be universally accepted, and that the principal difficulty arose from the lack of education and moral training in the workers themselves." Nearly two generations before this, Owen had laid down for Co-operators the principle that " for the creation of happiness for the human race, two things have been always required. Firstly, a really good character from birth to death. Secondly, a superfluity of real wealth at all times for all," and says his experiments were made " knowing and feeling as I did the all-importance of education for the mass, as a preliminary to the true formation of character." *Life*, pp. 144, 147. Cf. A. V. Woodworth, *Christian Socialism in England*, pp. 30-50 ; and *The Working Men's College, 1854-1904*, pp. 1, 13.

[2] *Life of Maurice*, ii. p. 550, quoted Raven, *op. cit.* p. 346 ; cf. p. 315. " They thought it wiser to turn to education, foreseeing

Maurice " was already turning to the educational side of the movement, and devoted himself increasingly to those lectures and classes in the Hall of Association at Castle Street, which were the predecessors of his final venture in social service." [1] The College itself was founded in 1854. Social and spiritual as well as intellectual fellowship was to Maurice's mind the essential quality of college life, and for these seventy years of continuous work, the Working Men's College has been an effective demonstration of the co-operative principle on this plane.

Incidentally Maurice and his colleagues had brought about the formation in 1851 [2] of the Annual Congress of the Co-operative Movement, which has done a great deal to encourage and provide for the educational life of Co-operative Societies. A paper read to the Congress of 1869 turned the tide of interest in education, and since then the subject has been constantly discussed at the Annual Congresses. The Co-operators invited eminent public men and educationists to address them, and " a study of the record of these discussions and of the many notable papers that provoked them will reveal the gradual recognition of the idea of co-operative education as something differing from propaganda, and will enable the student to trace the growth of an increasingly earnest enquiry as to the best forms in which this central idea might receive practical expression." [3] Professor Stuart warned the Congress in 1879 that the Movement could succeed only if it gave its members both

that without this the distributive side of co-operation, just because from the business standpoint it was practicable and lucrative, would fail to teach fellowship and might easily degenerate into mere dividend hunting." Cf. the *Life*, ii. p. 220 : Maurice's dread of a *sect* of Christian Socialists is described, and the attractiveness of the name " College " to him is explained : " It seemed to him to imply an association of men *as men*."

[1] Raven, *op. cit.* p. 315.

[2] Raven, *op. cit.* p. 275, claims this definitely as the work of the Society of Promoters of Working Men's Associations. Cf. C. Webb, *Industrial Co-operation*, pp. 77, 191.

[3] Catherine Webb, *op. cit.* p. 206.

education in the subjects closely related to itself, and general education. "Education is desirable for all mankind; it is the life's necessity for co-operators," he said. Arnold Toynbee in 1882 defined the special task of Co-operative Education as the education of the citizen, since by that time the Local Education Authority, the State, and the Church, were making provision for elementary, secondary, technical, and religious instruction. "By this I mean the education of each member of the community as regards the relation in which he stands to other individual citizens and to the community as a whole."[1] He pointed out that if co-operators were to live up to their ideals they had special need of such education, which again was the kind of education most in harmony with the ideal purpose of their movement. Arnold Toynbee's appeal had an inspiring and enduring effect upon the movement. "In 1885 the special Committee of the Union appointed to act as a central advisory body on education to the societies in the Union defined the object of co-operative education as 'primarily the formation of co-operative character and opinions; and secondarily, though not necessarily of less import, the training of men and women to take part in industrial and social reforms and municipal life generally.'[2] In framing the Programme which it issues each year, an endeavour is made to organise the education of co-operators, both directly, by the provision of special class teaching in the history, theory and principles of the movement, and in economic, industrial, and constitutional history in so far as these subjects have a bearing on Co-operation; and indirectly, through advice and assistance given to local educational committees in the administration of their funds."[3] At the Woolwich Congress of 1896 the Union appointed a committee of enquiry, and this led to the present development of education in co-operative societies. In 1895

[1] Arnold Toynbee, *Education of Co-operators*, p. 7.

[2] Confirmed again by the Congress at Leicester in 1916. *Vide C.W.S. Annual* for 1916, p. 320.

[3] C. Webb, *op. cit.* p. 207.

there were 586 societies making educational grants, the total amount so allotted being £46,752 ; in 1908 the amount was £91,041, allotted by 810 societies.

Societies thus were encouraged to work with the Local Education Authorities, with the University Extension Committees, and with any other effective organisation providing general education of the kind desired by co-operators, as well as the technical education of which they saw so clearly the value. The supreme importance of character was not overlooked. This traditional element in the educational policy of the movement was repeatedly emphasised. Co-operators realised, for example, that highly technically trained foremen might lack the social sense, becoming selfish and callous towards their old comrades.[1] At the same time, the Co-operative Societies knew the importance of making a man skilled in his craft, and the equal importance of bridging the gulf between elementary education and advanced technical education, when the Local Education Authorities provided this, but failed to provide the necessary night schools for young apprentices. The Act of 1870, followed by the Technical Education Acts of 1889-1890, led Co-operative Societies to organise their own evening classes for youths and adults in elementary and technical subjects, or to facilitate the attendance of such students at Local Education Authorities' classes where these were established.[2]

[1] Cf. A. Mansbridge, *Survey*, p. 269.

[2] Mr. Mansbridge quotes societies at Norwich, Ipswich, Oldham, York, Plymouth, and Torquay, as well as the Grays Co-operative Society, as seeking for education, and says : " It may be remarked that very few Co-operative Societies of standing exclude themselves from the educational work of the town or district in which they are situated. Generous financial assistance has often been rendered by them, and it may safely be inferred that if classes had not been established otherwise, co-operators would have established them " (*Survey*, p. 273). The Congress at Stratford in 1904 passed a resolution saying : " This Congress earnestly recommends societies to concentrate their efforts rather than to carry on work or any portion of work which is more correctly the work of the local or municipal authorities " (*ibid.* p. 275).

Among James Stuart's first courses of University Extension lectures to men was that given in 1868 at the invitation of the Rochdale Pioneers. He made a fresh proposal—that the Co-operative Societies should use a portion of their profits for carrying on a peripatetic co-operative university, and met societies at Leeds, Dewsbury and elsewhere, but the scheme did not mature. Extension lectures of the ordinary type, however, were well supported, and students were encouraged and assisted to attend the University Extension Summer Meetings.[1]

The classes carried on by the societies themselves were chiefly in co-operation, industrial history, citizenship, and book-keeping. The later development of this work falls to be considered at a subsequent stage of our study. Alongside these earlier classes many lectures of a miscellaneous kind were arranged, generally single lectures on a variety of subjects of general interest, though in most cases having some relationship to the application of the co-operative principle. A glance at the list of people who read papers at Co-operative Congresses from 1869 to 1905, or again at the

[1] A. Mansbridge, *Survey*, p. 280. Mr. Mansbridge says: "The wise provision of educational funds has enabled co-operative societies in all parts to assist university extension lectures by direct grants, by the purchase of tickets, and in some few cases by the acceptance of all financial responsibility. More important than this assistance has been the number of co-operators who, as such, have consistently helped forward university extension" (*Survey*, p. 280). Since 1891 there has been a policy of sending those who achieve most success in university extension courses to university summer meetings. Cf. Mackinder and Sadler, *University Extension*, pp. 21, 49, 69; R. D. Roberts, *Eighteen Years of University Extension*, pp. 8, 60, 91. "The educational side of Co-operation since 1885 has been directed both by the advice of and the direct action of the Special Committee of the Central Board set up in 1885, and although the classes originated under its auspices have not attracted co-operators in any proportion to the merits of the case, yet it is very creditable to the Co-operative Movement that they have been persisted in so carefully and so patiently. The results of the classes will never be estimated, but they may be recognised in many enlightened and educated co-operators' activities for the most part in the development of the Movement" (*Survey*, pp. 280-1).

writers of special articles in the *Co-operative Wholesale Society's Annual* from 1885 to 1905, will suffice to show that the attitude taken up by those who discouraged the Co-operative Movement, particularly during the early years of its second great period, was completely mistaken. The opposition was widespread, owing to a misinterpretation of its origins as godless and revolutionary.[1] The Movement set out, however, to appeal to the whole of human personality and human society. While it rightly endeavoured to give co-operators such special instruction as would enable them efficiently to participate in the manufacturing and commercial enterprises to which they had set their hands, throughout the whole century it laid emphasis upon a moral principle and upon the supreme importance of moral character. It endeavoured to create and to foster a social spirit, and its educational work, whether independently done, or carried through in co-operation with specific agencies for adult education, had no purely material end in view.[2] The movement, though in some aspects, and particularly at certain points in its history, it may have tended

[1] "To the world at large co-operation (thanks to Robert Owen) seemed essentially godless and revolutionary." Cf. C. Webb, *op. cit.* pp. 71-72; Raven, *Christian Socialism*, p. 342. Cf. also F. Podmore, who quotes from *The Times* of the day following Owen's speech calling upon the world to "dismiss all its erroneous religious notions, and to feel the justice and necessity of publicly acknowledging the most unlimited religious freedom," the comment: "The curtain dropt yesterday upon Mr. Owen's drama, not soon, it is probable, to be lifted up again" (*op. cit.* p. 248).

[2] "They were too apt at those gatherings to pat themselves on the back at the very large increase they were recording in membership and sales and upon the material progress they were making in the development of their movement. But it was not enough to improve the material condition of the people alone. It was their duty to give the people a greater opportunity to develop that power within them to draw out of life all that made life worth living. The commercial side of the movement was necessary, but it was only the means to the end, which was to make men and women happy and better able economically and socially to enjoy the things in life which were their rightful heritage." President of Co-operative Congress, Lancaster Congress, 1916, *C.W.S. Annual*, 1916, p. 50.

a little unduly to purely practical concerns, has yet always claimed to be inspired by educational ideals. The Rev. W. Hudson Shaw, who played so large a part in spreading the University Extension movement among Adult Schools and Co-operative Societies, being himself an indefatigable lecturer, has said of the Co-operative Movement: "From the beginning, whether you turn to the history of Robert Owen, or the Rochdale Pioneers, or the Christian Socialists of 1848, its grand aim has been the social amelioration of the working classes, the raising of the whole man, intellectually, morally, every way. Its representative men have always been Idealists, Reformers, with a great hope animating their actions. It has been religious in the highest sense, for it has cared about social brotherhood above all things. It has been reforming on the side of sober, moderate, necessary change. It has been educational, training hundreds of thousands of men in self-government on the one hand, believing on the other that the social problem of our time is at bottom a question of education."[1] We may feel that this is the judgment of an enthusiast, and it can scarcely be denied that the Societies in general have not given that expression to their professed ideals in cultural education which might have been expected. But we must not forget their policy of sending their members to more specialised bodies for lectures and classes in liberal studies. Certainly the spiritual principle for which the Movement stands is at least part of any adequate explanation of its steady growth.

4. THE MECHANICS' INSTITUTIONS, LYCEUMS, AND LIBRARIES

The rise of Mechanics' Institutes in England has been traced back to the work of the Sunday Schools, or, more definitely, to the Birmingham Brotherly Society.[2] Actually there was no direct connection, but classes of one sort and another prepared the way for a more ambitious effort. The

[1] *Co-operation and Education* (n.d.), pp. 3-4.

[2] Cf. Hole, *op. cit.* p. 6. Hudson, *op. cit.* pp. 29, 44. Michael Sadler, *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere* (1907), p. 26.

demand for such classes was intensified, if not created, by the two-fold influence of religion and politics. Both topics were excluded from the programme of study in the typical Mechanics' Institute. Probably, if any widespread educational movement is to be taken as the precursor of the Institutes, it should be that of the Mutual Improvement Societies so numerous in the beginning of the nineteenth century.[1] Their actual origin, however, is indisputably due to an experiment made in Scotland. From 1799 till 1804 Dr. Birkbeck gave scientific lectures to working men in Glasgow as an outcome of his professorship at Anderson's University. The work was continued by other professors, and a definite organisation followed in due time. In 1823 the editors of the *Mechanics' Magazine*, in London, drew the attention of mechanics to the desirability of something on these lines, and received the backing of a little society that met weekly at Lunn's Coffee House for reading, discussion, and music—a society "consisting of working-mechanics, tradesmen, and the radical reformers of that day, Gale, Jones, and the two Evans's, and others who had suffered for political offences."[2] The famous mass meeting, two thousand strong, "journeymen, masters, politicians and philanthropists," held at the *Crown and Anchor*, decided to

[1] So Dobbs, *op. cit.* p. 172. He says: "It is in the wider outlook and in the demand for knowledge produced by the religious movements of the period, and the economic and political consequences of the Industrial Revolution, that we must seek the origin of those ideas of democratic government which have entered so largely into adult education in recent times. The intellectual awakening showed itself in various ways; in the growth of adult Sunday Schools and the spread of night classes in the north of England, in the formation of book clubs, reading societies, and discussion circles, and in the beginning of scientific and technical studies. . . . But it is to the religious rather than to the scientific renaissance that we must look for the manifestation of that corporate spirit which is the most abiding characteristic of the new democracy" (*op. cit.* pp. 141-142). For the Mutual Improvement Societies and instances of their development into Mechanics' Institutes, see Hudson, *op. cit.* pp. 93-94, 172, 189-194.

[2] Cf. Hudson, *op. cit.* p. 49.

start a Mechanics' Institution.[1] The help of Dr. Birkbeck, then in London, was sought and readily given, and the Institute was established in Southampton Building. Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham—indeed all the great towns in the country, rapidly set up similar Institutes, and even small towns and villages were not without their equivalent.[2] We find Charlotte Brontë writing, in the winter of 1839-40: "Mr. W. has given another lecture at the Keighley Mechanics' Institute, and papa has also given a lecture; both are spoken of very highly in the newspapers, and it is mentioned as a matter of wonder that such displays of intellect should emanate from the village of Haworth, 'situated among the bogs and mountains, and, until very lately, supposed to be in a state of semi-barbarism.' Such are the words of the newspaper."[3] By 1851 Dr. Hudson was able to compile a statistical return of 610 Institutes in England, with 102,050 members.[4]

The aim of the Institutes was to teach working men the principles underlying their crafts—"the *reason* of the thing, the why and wherefore the act should be performed in a certain way and no other," as Hole puts it, observing that "workmen were apt to regard this as the business of their masters and no concern of their own."[5] Dr. Birkbeck

[1] Cf. Dobbs, *op. cit.* p. 174; Graham Wallas, *Life of Francis Place*, pp. 112, 268; Hole, *op. cit.* pp. 8, 9. The story has now been told much more fully in the *Short History of Birkbeck College* (1924), by C. Delisle Burns.

[2] "In the establishment of Mechanics' Institutions, Northumberland early distinguished itself, for in 1825 there was scarcely a market town in the county without its educational society of working men." Hudson, *op. cit.* p. 140.

[3] Mrs. Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Brontë* (Smith Elder's Pocket Edition, n.d.), p. 155.

[4] *Op. cit.* pp. vi, 222-238. His book is taken up chiefly with detailed descriptions and criticisms of the larger institutions. He himself was secretary of the Manchester Athenaeum and founder of the Scottish and Northern Literary and Mechanics' Institutions, as James Hole was Honorary Secretary of the Yorkshire Union.

[5] *Op. cit.* p. 14. The Manchester Mechanics' Institute Prospectus announced that: "This Society has been formed for the purpose of

was moved by scientific enthusiasm and also by the desire to afford mechanics both an interesting occupation for their minds in their leisure time and an additional enjoyment in their actual work, when he established his Glasgow lectures.[1] According to Dr. Hudson, the founders of the Institutes had three great purposes in mind—"the rapid promotion of general science by the greater number of persons engaged in the observation of its phenomena . . . ; an extensive diffusion of rational information among the general mass of society . . . ; and, the creation of intellectual pleasure and refined amusements tending to the general education of character." [2] For the most part the Institutes were created, maintained (for the fees charged were low), and controlled by the rich for the benefit of the poor. Manufacturers had

enabling mechanics and artisans, of whatever trade they may be, to become acquainted with such branches of science as are of practical application in the exercise of that trade, that they may possess a more thorough knowledge of their business, acquire a greater degree of skill in the practice of it, and be qualified to make improvements and even new inventions in the arts which they respectively profess. It is not intended to teach the trade of the machine-maker, the dyer, the carpenter, the mason, or any other practical business ; but there is no art which does not depend more or less on scientific principles, and to search out what these are, and to point out their practical application, will form the chief objects of this Institution." The London Mechanics' Institution stated its object to be : "The instruction of the members in the arts they practise, and in the various branches of useful knowledge." Hudson, *op. cit.* p. 56. Leeds added : "for the further purpose of affording them pleasurable relaxation." *Ibid.* p. 90.

[1] Cf. Hole, *op. cit.* p. 15 ; Hudson, *op. cit.* pp. 34-35 ; Dobbs, *op. cit.* pp. 173, 181.

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 54-55. Hole sums it up thus : "There is an instruction which they should receive to fit them for the position of members of a civilised community, and there is an instruction specially adapted to their individual vocations" (*op. cit.* p. 44). This is perhaps his own view. His expansion of these suggestions includes physical science, history, physiology, and social science—a programme remarkably like Lovett's. Hole says : "No education is sufficient for them which leaves any portion of their highest powers waste and unproductive" (*ibid.* p. 45).

an eye to the increase of production, or to the possibility of rendering their workpeople more docile because—for the sequence seemed inevitable—more intelligent.[1] But even this was not wholly a selfish or materialist point of view. Poverty, wretchedness and crime were, at least in part, the result of ignorance. Material prosperity would create better conditions for moral progress. There was a genuine desire on the part of many among the governing, professional, and manufacturing classes to help people to help themselves. A moral objective was not only avowed, but was given primacy by some of the most prominent supporters of the Institutes. Thus we find Sir Benjamin Heywood remarking, in an address to the Manchester Institute in 1832: "It was thought, and I joined in the opinion, that the study of physical science would essentially contribute to advancement, by its tendency to impress the mind with the infinite power, wisdom, and goodness which the Creator has displayed in all His works. I confess that, upon this point also, I have been disappointed; I do not find that 'to look through Nature up to Nature's God' is a necessary or even common accompaniment of the study of physical science; and I am anxious for an altered system of instruction, not merely that we may give to it more variety

[1] The Newcastle Literary, Scientific and Mechanical Institution was to secure "the diffusion of practical knowledge among the most productive classes of the community." (Hudson, *op. cit.* p. 140.) "During the first ten years after the establishment of Mechanics' Institutions in Liverpool, London, Leeds, and Newcastle, it was generally thought that no species of knowledge was necessary or fitting for the operative but such as respects the science or practice of his art, and tends to make him a better workman and more useful to his employer." (Hudson, *op. cit.* p. 130.) Hole says that manufacturers would contribute more freely "if they saw that superior workmen were produced by better instruction being afforded." (*Op. cit.* p. 88.) But cf. Dobbs, *op. cit.* p. 173. "What gave the movement its initial stimulus was not so much the thought of commercial expediency as a desire to cultivate the minds of the artisan class, by appealing to objects within the sphere of their daily experience which seemed to present the widest range of intellectual interests." Hole puts it higher—as we saw (cf. pp. 236-7 *supra*).

and interest, but that we may combine with it more moral improvement." In another paragraph of the same address he manifests a willingness to make the programme conform not simply to what masters think good for workmen, but also to what workmen think good for themselves: "What, then, is the modification of our plan which seems desirable? It is to adapt our instruction more to the taste and capacity of the working classes, to make it more elementary and entertaining, to extend it to a greater variety of subjects, and to connect it with more moral improvement." [1] A little later the Central Committee of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes, in its Reports for 1840 and 1841, deplores the lack of early moral and intellectual training as responsible for much "apathy and indifference to knowledge among the operative classes," and declares that "as society is now constituted, and looking to the kind of information diffused among the mass of the people, a sound intellectual and moral culture has become indispensable, not alone to the order, peace, and happiness of society, but to its very being. Without this culture, Mechanics' Institutes will never realise their original designs." [2]

In point of fact, very few of the Institutes appear to have been for long strict in their adherence to physical science as the main element in their curricula. The London Institute began with Chemistry, Geometry, Hydrostatics, the Application of Chemistry to the Arts, Astronomy, Electricity, and the French Language. Liverpool, beginning with geometry and the principles of mechanics for the joiner and cabinet-maker; the theory of naval architecture, drawing and mathematics, navigation and mechanics for the ship's carpenter; and "the solid framework of language" for those who "sought mental improvement," in 1840 taught English grammar, geography, history, writing, arithmetic,

[1] Hole, *op. cit.* pp. 70-71. Hole remarks: "Music, gymnastics, cricket, social tea-parties; such seemed to be the proposed features of the recreative department." Sir Benjamin was the hero of the red plush chairs story. See p. 184 *supra*.

[2] Hole, *op. cit.* pp. 21-22.

mathematics, navigation, chemistry, natural philosophy, German, French, Latin and Greek, perspective, architectural, mechanical landscape, and naval architectural drawing, painting, vocal music, elocution.[1] Even so, the working men were not attracted, the members being mainly of the clerk and shopkeeper class. As we have already seen, their lack of elementary education, the difficulty experienced by most working men in the payment of a quarterly or yearly instead of a weekly subscription, and their unwillingness to mix even with the lower middle classes, kept the artisans away. But there was perhaps a deeper reason. They did not feel free, they were interested in subjects which were forbidden at the Institutes, and they wanted more recreative education if they wanted education at all in their leisure hours.

In very few of the Institutes did the managing Committee contain representatives of the members.[2] There was much fear lest the Institute should become " nests of revolution, nurseries for schism and infidelity, places where poor people

[1] Hudson, *op. cit.* pp. 50, 97-98. " The Rev. Dr. Forbes told the members of the Aberdeen Institution that Belles Lettres, Political Economy, and even History, were dangerous studies " (*ibid.* p. 59). " The Liverpool Mechanics' Institution has not only been the last among the societies in the country to give up the system of complete courses of lectures, but it has made the dangerous experiment of supplying by all the lectures in one session a complete course of ancient and modern history " (*ibid.* p. 101). Cf. p. 171 *supra* (footnote), as to the London Institute.

[2] Cf. Delisle Burns, *op. cit.* pp. 30-31. The tradition of the London Mechanics' Institute, continued throughout its development into the present Birkbeck College, has been that the students should have a measure of control over the conduct and policy of the institution. A division of opinion, which Dr. Burns compares with the present-day controversy between the W.E.A. and the Plebs League, took place at an early stage between Robertson and Hodgskin, editors of the *Mechanics' Magazine*, and Birkbeck, Place and the Committee. " The point was this. Was the education at the Mechanics' Institutions to be controlled by benevolent members of the ' upper ' classes, or by the workers themselves ? " In the end the policy adopted is thus described by Dr. Burns : " It was democratic with suitable prudence " ! (*ibid.* p. 35). Mr. and Mrs. Horrabin remark : " The

learn to be discontented with their position," and so it was considered essential that control should be in the hands of the local bigwigs.[1] The Duke of Sussex warned the London Institution "that anything like debating upon political or theological subjects would be at once seized hold on for their destruction as a body"—but Dr. Hudson regards the letting of the hall on Sundays, so that "it soon became the forum of the Owenites, the Cobbettites, the Huntites, and the anti-religionists Carlisle and Taylor," as the great reason for the premature decay of the Institution.[2] Repeatedly as we find the discussion of politics and religion barred, however,[3] it is clear that many of the Institutes which did attract the keener men, especially of the artisan type, did so in part because they disregarded this official limitation, particularly on the

struggle for the control of the Institute was explicitly one between the two opposing views of working-class education. It was an exact anticipation of the controversies with which we have all grown familiar in our own day." *Op. cit.* p. 17.

[1] Hole, *op. cit.* pp. 91-92. [2] Hudson, *op. cit.* p. 51.

[3] Hudson records the breaking out of a religious feud, in defiance of this rule, as the reason for the destruction of the Birmingham Literary and Scientific Institute within three years of its starting, but goes on to say of the Bristol Athenaeum, which succeeded the Bristol Mechanics' Institution in 1845, that "By its rules the directors are required to include theological and political science in their lecture arrangements, but with the exception of two lectures on political economy in the last session, they have, perhaps wisely, allowed this rule to remain inoperative" (*ibid.* pp. 70-71). Dr. Delisle Burns points out that Birkbeck, Place, Brougham, and other supporters of the London Mechanics' Institute "were by no means revolutionary in their outlook," though "liberal" in their general attitude; "the new Institution, therefore, was not much concerned with social studies," though William Ellis and Thomas Hodgskin gave lectures on Political Economy, then regarded as a dangerous subject. He quotes from T. Coates' Report on the State of Mechanics' Institutions (1841) a complaint of "the interference of other classes for the systematic exclusion from Mechanics' Institutions of political science and theology in almost any shape," but also the statement that "lectures have frequently been delivered on branches of political economy at the London Mechanics' Institution." *Op. cit.* pp. 49, 50, 61.

political side.[1] Nottingham had a society for the discussion of literary and scientific subjects within a few months after the London Institute was founded, and apparently young journeymen were the chief promoters and members of it. "The active thirst for information, so strikingly apparent in every department of human knowledge," we are told, "early evinced itself in Nottingham. If it led to a vivid perception of political rights and wrongs, to political unions, and chartism, it threw off the veil that darkened the vision of the human intellect, and cited all the great features of our active worldly system for examination and sentence by the tribunal of reason and truth." But alas, this was only for three or four years, and when, ten years later, the Mechanics' Institute was formed in 1837, we are informed that it "proved itself not alone an ornament to the town and the county, but in many respects worthy of the imitation of societies that foster the arts, and familiarise the public with

[1] At the Manchester Athenaeum, which, like the other institutions bearing this title, was intended for middle-class people, "By the rules the members are prohibited from discussing subjects of present party politics, but the meetings most numerously attended have been those where the rules have been evaded by an undefined notice of the subject to be debated" (*ibid.* p. 119). Prof. Adamson quotes from an address of Thomas Arnold to the Mechanics' Institute at Rugby in 1838: "The very matters which concern us most nearly (*sc.* our duties as men and as citizens) are exactly those on which the rules of this and similar institutions forbid us to enter. I do not dispute the expediency of these rules, or, to speak more correctly, their necessity in the present state of party feeling, both religious and political; but so long as they are observed, it is idle to call Mechanics' Institutes places of adult education. Physical science alone can never make a man educated; even the formal sciences (grammar, logic, arithmetic, geometry), invaluable as they are with respect to the discipline of the reasoning powers, cannot instruct the judgment; it is only moral and religious knowledge which can accomplish this." *A Short History of Education*, p. 263. Cf. the drastic criticisms of Mechanics' Institutes, as lacking humanist studies in their curriculum, made by R. B. Litchfield in the *Working Men's College Magazine* for 1860, quoted by G. C. Moore Smith in *The Story of the People's College, Sheffield* (1912), p. 4.

the objects of elegance, rarity and beauty "—but we hear no more of the aspiring young journeymen.[1]

Some of the Mechanics' Institutes maintained a high standard of scientific work which issued later in the creation of Technical Colleges or Polytechnics, either as a direct development of the original Institute or in close succession to it.[2] By the middle of the century, however, most had

[1] Hudson, *op. cit.* p. 146. The newsrooms, of which Hudson reports 372 in 1851, were much more readily used by workmen than were the facilities for attending lectures and classes. Hudson's reference to the Ancoats Lyceum illustrates this: "The Ancoats Lyceum is established in a quarter of the town entirely inhabited by the working-classes. The newsroom has been its attraction from the thirst of political knowledge which exists among factory operatives, developing itself occasionally in Chartist meetings, in appeals to the legislature for protection to labour, and gatherings to promote socialism and communism." *Op. cit.* p. 136.

[2] Cf. Sir Michael Sadler, *Continuation Schools*, p. 26. "In the history of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution (now the Manchester College of Technology) may be traced all the important stages in the development of technical instruction from 1824 to the present day." The Birmingham and Midland Institute was established in 1855 because of the need of an adequate means of "the education of artisans, practical miners and others in the scientific principles of their daily avocations." Birkbeck Institute "forms a link between the old Mechanics' Institutes and the new London Polytechnics." But contrast the view of the historian of the College, who points out that originally it was "practical" but not "technical" (as we now understand the term) in its programme, and that though, for the first few years of the present century, it was almost forced into becoming a technical institute by pressure from the City Polytechnic and the L.C.C., it successfully maintained its struggle to give primacy to university studies of a liberal type. Lord Haldane, in his foreword to the *Short History*, says: "The history discloses how what was originally an institution for general popular education has been made to grow from being a place where knowledge had the aspect of fragments, into a place where it has become a living whole of the university standard. The history also shows how large a part of the motive force which impelled the transition could be derived from the students themselves." C. D. Burns, *op. cit.* pp. 5, 24, 77, 79, 93, 102, 107, 109, 121, 123, 131, 135, 145-164. It is now a school of the University of London for evening and part-time students in Arts and Science, being given this status in 1920.

become transformed in character by the substitution of lectures (often miscellaneous and not even courses) for class work, and by the attempt to popularise the programme in order to appeal to artisans and to defeat the casinos. Some were doing work almost as elementary as that of the earlier Adult Schools. In some, recreative education had become little more than mere amusement.[1] Dr. Hudson laments the condition of things in 1851 : " In the choice of subjects the change has been equally unfavourable ; the plain and easily understood discourses on the elements of the sciences and their application to the useful arts, illustrated by numerous experiments, have been abandoned ; and the preference shown for light literature, criticism, music, and the drama, has given occasion for the statement that even the older Metropolitan Mechanics' Institution, since its establishment, has given more attention to *the Drama* than to the entire range of physical science." [2] But this should not be taken too seriously. At any rate, James Hole, who had quite as strong a belief in the future of the Mechanics' Institutes as Dr. Hudson had, combined with a much more statesmanlike mind, very sensibly replies to critics that " to raise the working man we must take hold of him where he is, not where he is not." To the highbrows and the utilitarians of his day he says : " Scientific instruction is not alone important . . . the artisan is not merely a *workman*, but a *man*." [3] Education is a broad term, and need not exclude the idea of

[1] See Hudson, Hole and Dobbs, *opp. cit., passim.*

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 57-58. Cf. also a passage singularly delicious as contrasted with the place accorded to drama in adult education to-day : " A dramatic reading society is the best elocution class that can be formed in a literary society, and if well conducted may become a pleasing and a permanent branch of the Institution. Its only evil is a proneness to amateur stage representation ; but if this tendency is judiciously repressed the society may become a valuable aid in the occasional displays which the coffee party and the social soirée afford. The dramatic society of the Manchester Athenaeum has been nearly three years in active operation, holding weekly meetings " (*ibid.* p. 120).

[3] *Op. cit.* pp. 75-76, 69.

recreation. He admits that it is vain to attempt to win the workman if you neglect or refuse to discuss his social interests, and challenges those who are afraid to allow lectures or classes on controversial subjects with the simple question : " Is it intended to hear both sides ? " [1] After all, it could fairly be said that the Mechanics' Institutes had, through

[1] The immediate point was whether political economy should be allowed. The principle stated by Hole is one to which more regard might be paid by certain official bodies concerned with adult education to-day. " The question as to the introduction of any subject, whether of religion, politics, or political economy, may be determined by the answer to this question : is it intended to hear both sides ? You only wish to diffuse *correct* views on important questions. Granted. But what is correct ? Who is to be judge ? Shall the Committee of the Institute, imitating larger conclaves, sit in judgment upon opinions, and decide by majority what is and what is not orthodox ? Are we never to learn the lessons of history, which show that every opinion now boasting its majority was once in a minority—that votes are worthless in matters of opinion ? When the time comes, as assuredly it will, that truth shall be held more sacred than opinion, no one will object to free discussion. Common fairness—the interests of Truth herself—require that on every disputed topic, submitted to any body of men, they should be prepared to mete out the same fair condition to both sides of the question " (*op. cit.* pp. 65-66). But caution is too much for him, and he advises against political economy (despite Dr. Chalmers' plea for it) on the ground that feeling would run too high and that workmen would feel that " capitalist economics " were being given an unfair advantage. He goes on to say, however, " Mechanics Institutes *need* not, however, be indifferent to questions affecting the social interests of the working classes. That they *are* so is one great cause of their present inutility ; but to their more intimate participation in those interests, we look for their power increasingly to attract the working-classes " (*ibid.* p. 67). Lovett quotes the *Report of the Educational Commissioners of 1861* on the syllabus of training colleges as saying that the omission of political economy has left on their minds " a painful impression." They consider knowledge of this subject " next to religion " in importance for the working man, and say that " The want of such knowledge leads him constantly into error and violence, destructive to himself and to his family, oppressive to his fellow workmen, ruinous to his employers, and mischievous to society " ! Lovett, *op. cit.* p. 287. William Ellis published, in 1851, an appeal for the teaching of economics to

their lectures and libraries, increased a taste for reading. They had created a popular taste for good music—" cheap concerts originated with the Mechanics' Institute at Manchester." They had done something for the progress of social and sanitary reform. They had fostered fair-mindedness in politics, mainly through the provision of newspapers, and above all by bringing people of opposite views together socially. " They have certainly, and perhaps more than any other agency, helped to form a sound public opinion as to the necessity and duty of adult education." [1] It was true enough that, as sympathetic critics at that time said, the Mechanics' Institutes pointed the way to adult education rather than met the need. Their failure was undoubtedly due to their promoters' misunderstanding of the ambitions and abilities of average workmen.[2] Sir Michael

children, as well as to students in colleges and adult classes, arguing that : " Not over-population, but under-education, is the cause of destitution " : *Education as a Means of Preventing Destitution : with Exemplifications from the Teaching of the Conditions of Well-being and the Principles and Applications of Economical Science at the Birkbeck Schools*, pp. 12, 15, 115, 131, etc.

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 11-12. " Though politics are excluded, newspapers are not ; and a superior class of newspaper has come within the reach of the people. The tone of thought on many political topics has become elevated. Newspapers of both sides are admitted ; people get to see both sides of a question ; partisanship is diminished ; honesty and ability are found not to be the exclusive property of one side, and stupidity and villainy of the other. This very valuable result has been strengthened by the bringing of all sorts of men together at their social meetings. We have seen the successful and rejected candidates meet, the day after an election, on such an occasion and forget all the animosity of party in common desire to elevate their fellow men." Dr. Adamson has pointed out that the high price of newspapers, even after the removal of the Stamp Duty, put them beyond the means of ordinary workpeople, and that in the maintenance of the Paper Tax until 1861 is revealed governmental fear of free discussion. *Short History of Education*, p. 300.

[2] " It is probably less true to say that they overrated the intelligence of artisans than that they failed to discover it. The effort of which this class is capable revealed itself gradually at a later stage to those who approached them as individuals, and whose

Sadler makes a strong point when he observes that their very weaknesses caused a powerful reaction of a positive kind on the part of those who became leaders in a new type of adult educational enterprise—the People's Colleges, and, later, the University Extension Movement.[1]

Efforts were made to devise a more popular form of education for workpeople. In many towns Lyceums were started. In Manchester, we are told, "Several of the best friends of the Mechanics' Institutes of Manchester became impressed with a conviction of the absolute necessity of extending the work of mental enlightenment into a lower grade of society than that from which the members of Mechanics' Institutions were generally drawn. These individuals came forward and instituted a new class of societies which they termed Lyceums. The leading features in their construction were the formation of small newsrooms, rational and innocent evening recreations, and the encouragement of female members and female instruction, upon a scale of charges so moderate that it would be within the reach of every class of workman in employment."[2] The rivalry of the beer-houses

primary aim was not to enlighten the masses, but to get in touch with their minds. It is clear that the Mechanics' Institutes failed to utilise the corporate sentiment which had begun to permeate industrial movements, while it is doubtful whether the best means of arousing enthusiasm lay in an appeal to intellectual interests directly related to material pursuits." Dobbs, *op. cit.* p. 182.

[1] "The Mechanics' Institutes did a great work, partly in diffusing a more general interest in scientific questions, but still more in affording intellectual stimulus and encouragement to numbers of workmen of exceptional ability. The spirit which animated the movement was somewhat individualistic and utilitarian, but it inspired energy and weakened much deep-seated prejudice. It provoked a reaction against itself, but by doing so rendered a further service to national education because it compelled those who, like J. H. Newman and F. D. Maurice, disliked and distrusted its tendencies, to give clear expression to their objections and to work out in a practical way their own educational ideal." *Continuation Schools*, p. 23.

[2] Hudson, *op. cit.* pp. 135-136. Cf. the objects of the Salford Lyceum—"to facilitate and promote the moral and intellectual

and casinos proved only too successful. On the other hand, some managers of Lyceums tended to stiffen up the educational programme and make it approximate to the ideal of the Mechanics' Institutes, thus losing the very members to whose special needs the Lyceum was intended to appeal. In the end, the Lyceums left a less definite mark upon the intellectual and social life of the country than the Institutes did, and the problem of adult education among the working classes was brought very little nearer solution.

At the other end of the social scale Athenaeums were established for the well-to-do, and particularly for the younger members of their families who needed some resource to keep them satisfactorily occupied in the evenings! Here again the public lectures and the library were the main features of the work, and on the social side much was made of "*soirées*" (many of them reaching monster proportions) as an opportunity of social intercourse, enjoyment of music, the delivery of orations on the value of culture by the eminent politicians and other public personages of the time, and the raising of money for the Athenaeums themselves. The Athenaeums undoubtedly spread, and made the idea of culture popular among the middle classes, but they accomplished little in the way of systematic education.[1] Among the most effective higher middle-class institutions of that period were some of the Literary and Philosophical Societies, with their public lectures, fine libraries and frequent debates; many of these, such as the Newcastle one, have had a distinguished history and are flourishing still. But there was a fatal snobbishness about most of these dilettante clubs, upon which writers of the time comment very satirically.[2]

improvement of both sexes by means of a news-room, library, reading-room, lectures, classes, concerts, discussions, and literary recreative purposes" (*ibid.* pp. 137-138).

[1] Cf. Hudson, *op. cit.* pp. 96, 107, 110, 124.

[2] The Philomathic Societies were the earliest of Literary and Scientific Societies established for the mental cultivation of the middle classes. Their objects were "the general cultivation and exercise of the intellectual powers, and the promotion of art, science,

There were, of course, scattered over the country all sorts of miscellaneous educational societies. The Oddfellows had something of the kind for their own members in Leeds and Rochdale, as also, no doubt, elsewhere.[1] We hear of one small northern village, with a population of only five hundred, which had two societies for intellectual improvement, two libraries, evening classes, and a debating society.[2] Small groups gave themselves the name of "Working Men's Association" or "People's Institute," but often did not last for more than a few months "chiefly owing to political influences."[3] It was not only the young journeymen, in the case of Nottingham, who were eager for opportunities of study and discussion; "the desire for intellectual amusement seems to have entered into all the ramifications of society in this town, for there are several Working Men's Libraries *held in public houses*. At two of these houses political discussions are also held under judicious regula-

and literature, by means of lectures, library, reading-room, essay and discussion classes, and the publication of a journal containing original essays, poems, and other compositions, by the members" (Hudson, *op. cit.* p. 166). Hudson gives a summary of these, and passes upon them all, with a few exceptions, a scathing judgment: "They have continued aristocratic assemblies, philosophers by the length of their purses, and worldly condition enabling them to comply with the forms and terms of membership. Many of these societies are now held together by the little coffee parties which constitute their council meetings, while their outward signs of vitality are exhibited in an occasional course of lectures, which can scarcely vie with the programme of the humbler Institutes." They would patronise the Institutes and give money to them, but would not mix with their members or amalgamate the organisations. "These societies have also been jealously guarded from all connection with Athenaeums and middle-class institutions, and their councillors have in some instances preferred extinction to amalgamation that they might preserve with purity—their philosophy—their chemical base, which disdains alloy, and fears that any fusion with the *people* would reduce them to the impure commercial amalgam of general usefulness" (*ibid.* pp. 167-8).

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 93, 158.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 194.

[3] Hudson, *op. cit.* p. 139, especially referring to Manchester.

tions." [1] And Nottingham was not unique in this respect. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century there was a diffused mental activity going on, particularly among working people, as a result of political and social unrest. It is true that there was comparatively little demand for the formal instruction which the Mechanics' Institutes set out to give. Men turned rather to books and newspapers than to lectures and classes for the knowledge they desired, while they found in discussion of an informal type the stimulus they sought. They could follow their own tastes and pursue their own interests, despite the restrictions imposed by the founders on many of the Libraries connected with educational institutions.[2] Itinerating and circulating libraries were established

[1] *Ibid.* p. 148.

[2] In 1850 these libraries contained 691,500 volumes, and recorded 1,820,748 issues. (Hudson, *op. cit.* pp. vi-vii ; for general survey of library work at that time see *ibid.* pp. 195-201.) Positively the libraries generally undertook to supply only scientific books ; negatively the usual thing was to exclude books on politics and polemical divinity—also fiction. This plan did not work. The Liverpool Apprentices' and Mechanics' Library, which afterwards became the Mechanics' Institute, invited donations of books, but "the fears of the committee were awakened at the number of religious and political works which came pouring into the library by the zeal of persons holding certain religious views," and they passed a resolution excluding these, but subsequently rescinded it in favour of one excluding only immoral books. The Leeds Mechanics' Institute Library, under the influence of certain supporters of the Institute, was said to have excluded not only works of fiction and general literature, but even historical and biographical books ; this greatly hindered the success of the Institute, and reaction against such a policy "led to the establishment, 1834, of the Leeds Literary Institution for the purpose of providing a library, comprising all works of value and interest in the English language." A particularly interesting case is that of the Sheffield Mechanics' and Apprentices' Library, founded in 1823, which never attempted lectures, classes, or a news-room. The only existing resources were the Gentlemen's Library, too expensive, a few Sunday School libraries, principally religious, and the circulating libraries, mainly fiction, kept by shopkeepers. "The object in forming this library was to supply a want greatly and generally felt amongst the thoughtful of the working classes, and experienced by the heads of families

by Mechanics' Institutes for surrounding villages, as in the case of Chichester, or by Unions of Mechanics' Institutes for

and masters of apprentices, who, considering the responsibility of providing instruction for the youth under their care, wished to have a library to which they could send their young people with the entire confidence that there would be no danger either of their tastes becoming depraved, or their moral and religious principles corrupted. The design and object was to furnish, at a cheap rate, access to the best works on art, science, and literature, including that branch of it which exerts so powerful an agency in forming the opinions and moulding the public mind of this great empire—the periodical literature. While furnishing the best works in science, history, and general information, it was also designed that their leading qualities should be such as to contribute to form a manly, healthy taste, and also to possess a moral and religious tendency ; with this view the original rules rendered inadmissible novels, plays, and works subversive of the Christian religion. . . .

"The chief peculiarity in the Sheffield Mechanics' Library is the exclusion of *novels* and *plays*, but not all works of fiction, for it contains three hundred volumes of the products of the muse, with many works in the extensive department denominated miscellaneous. For many years the members annually agitated for the abrogation of the law which prevented them from reading novels of acknowledged excellence, but successive committees held that there is a real distinction between the tales of Miss Martineau, illustrating some principle of political economy, and Sir Walter Scott's novels. How far this theory can be generally and yet successfully applied is a subject in which experience is not by all admitted as conclusive evidence. Have the Sheffield Committee followed out in practice that which they have so strongly advocated ? An inspection of their catalogue exhibits the following facts :—the tragedies of Lord Byron and the translations of the plays of Sophocles and Euripides find a place on the shelves from whence the works of Shakespeare, present by virtue of a legacy, were cast out and sold by auction. The novels of Bulwer, Washington Irvine, Thackray (*sic*) and Warren are admitted ; but the writings of Scott, Galt, James, Marryat and D'Israeli are contraband. Howitt's 'Priestcraft,' and Cobbet's 'Legacy to Parsons' are admissible in the opinion of those who refuse to purchase a copy of the 'Vicar of Wakefield' ; no doubt upon the same principle which induces a committee of a Mechanics' Institution on the east coast of Yorkshire to refuse even donations of novels, yet re-purchase 'Jack Sheppard' as often as it is worn out, because it is to be found in the pages of a monthly periodical." Hudson, *op. cit.* pp. 46, 91, 158-160. Cf. Dobbs, *op. cit.* pp. 185-189.

their areas. The Yorkshire Village Library is a specially good example, and has carried on its work until the present time, for it still flourishes.[1] "The Village Libraries" in all parts of the country, but especially in the West of England, "are receiving the support of the landed proprietary and the ministers of every religious denomination." Excellent factory libraries were established by the aid of some enlightened and generous employers.[2] In addition, many of the more serious minded, not finding their needs met by provisions of this kind, built up libraries of their own. In the *Lives* of Place, Lovett, and Cooper, nothing is more arresting than the long passages describing their adventures among books. The compass of their reading and the sacrifices they made in order to buy coveted volumes are almost incredible. Yet, on their own testimony, they were not alone in this.[3]

Looking back upon the story of the Athenaeums and Libraries, the Mechanics' Institutes and the Lyceums, it is clear that while the promoters failed to emphasise spiritual values, and were concerned in most cases with intellectual or utilitarian interests, many of them came to perceive the mistake they had made, and modified the lines of the institutions which they controlled accordingly. Sometimes they went too far. They did not harmonise the good that was in their original conception with the good that they found in the popular demand. The result was the decay of the Institutes and Lyceums, and the predominance of the lighter kind of fiction in the libraries.[4] The indifference of workpeople to purely scientific or instructional lectures and classes was accompanied by a keen interest in

[1] Cf. Dobbs, *loc. cit.*

[2] Hudson, *op. cit.* pp. 199, 191.

[3] Cf. *Lives* as cited previously, *e.g.* Place, pp. 17, 28, 32; Cooper, pp. 53-66.

[4] The tabular statements of issues from various libraries, arranged under general categories, as given by Hudson (*op. cit., passim*), show what would be regarded to-day as a high proportion not only of scientific, but of non-fiction books.

political and social topics, which they tried to study through mutual improvement and other societies of their own devising.[1] The second quarter of the nineteenth century was a time when popular political and social agitations were imbued with a remarkable idealism, though this was often vague and indicative of a deep-seated desire for spiritual freedom and enhancement rather than expressive of clearly thought-out purpose. Even the demand, among all classes, for music and drama, novels and poetry, meant something more than reaction from the sterner, and in the case of poor people the oft-times sordid, preoccupations of long days in workshop or business. It sprang from, and at the same time fostered, a quickening of the imaginative life, and gave play to the social instincts. There was not in these movements the religious element which distinguished the Adult Schools or the social principle which animated the Co-operative Movement. But it can scarcely be denied that there was, however unconscious and however far from universal, a sense of the spiritual values which in one way or another men and women were seeking to apprehend.

5. RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS AND SUNDAY SCHOOLS

The directly religious motive found expression in a number of educational societies. For the most part these were very limited in their appeal, attracting young men in fairly good circumstances. In his argument for Branch Institutes for the benefit of workpeople who live too far away from the main Institute to make regular use of it, James Hole says : "The establishment of evening classes, lectures, etc., in connection with the various places of worship, is a great step in the right direction. As is well known, however, the mass of the operative classes does not belong to any religious denomination, numbers having a thorough distaste for each and all of them, the majority being quite indifferent. Branch

[1] As Brougham remarks : "Great institutions do not so forcibly indicate the universal eagerness for knowledge as those upon a minor scale, and established in small districts." Hudson, *op. cit.* p. 164.

Institutes form, therefore, the only machinery capable of reaching them." [1]

Though they may have been exceptional, there were at least a few local organisations for educational purposes, established by churches or on a religious basis, which attained considerable success. Besides the Carr Lane Brotherly Society, there were in Birmingham the St. George's Instruction Society, developed from the adult classes in connection with the Church Schools, and the St. Mary's Church Instruction Society, which arranged lectures in Poetry, History, and Science. The Young Men's Society for religious and intellectual improvement, founded at Bristol in 1837 by David Naismith, was "on the broad basis of a recognition of the New Testament as the standard of truth and duty." It "brought together earnest men from all sects and parties, for aiding each other in intellectual training, and in co-operating to promote the well-being of their fellow-men." The Society claimed freedom of enquiry and of appeal to public opinion. It advocated by means of public meetings temperance, anti-slavery, the new spelling reforms, and revision of the criminal laws. "These demonstrations," we are naïvely informed, "have neither attracted wealthy patrons, nor secured a large number of converts or members. Indeed, it has been complained that young men connected with the Church of England have abstained from enrolling themselves in this association owing to its political tendency." But there was also a vigorous educational programme, including classes in phonography, mathematics, English grammar, and essay writing. We learn that "upwards of twenty of the members have within a short period become masters of large public schools in the country"! [2]

[1] *Ibid.* p. 110. Cf. Hudson, who, speaking of the failure of London societies to effect the moral improvement of the working classes, refers to the crowding of beer-shops and public-houses on Sunday by ill-kempt workmen. "In one manufactory in Lambeth where upwards of one thousand men were constantly employed, it was ascertained that not more than thirty-three attended public worship, and only fourteen were members of any Christian Church." *Op. cit.* p. 211.

[2] Hudson, *op. cit.* pp. 68-70.

Manchester, like other large cities, had enterprising Sunday School teachers in connection with the various congregations who formed school libraries and lecture societies. That at Cavendish Street Chapel appears to have been particularly flourishing. The Young Men's Christian Association there is said to have arisen "from the hostility of the established clergy to the existing Institutions of the town." Lectures and evening classes were its staple activity, but it made little progress.[1]

Sunday School Institutes were in many instances centres of considerable educational activity for their special constituency. One of the best was at Liverpool, where the membership was restricted to Sunday School teachers, or persons proposed by them. Founded in 1846, it enrolled in its first year 500 members, of whom 400 were teachers drawn from the Sunday Schools of all evangelical denominations. The facilities provided included a library of books bearing on the study of the Bible, a Bible class conducted by ministers of various denominations, lectures, a reading-room supplied with magazines and newspapers, and a circulating library embracing history, travels, and *belles lettres*. But a peculiarly interesting organisation of this kind was the Christian Sunday School and Educational Institute at St. Mary Cray. We have already referred to the initiative taken and the generosity shown in connection with it by Messrs. Johnson & Smith, proprietors of the paper mills. "To prepare the population for the full advantage of such an Institution, the proprietors established a school, and appointed a master at their own expense to reside upon the premises. The advantages offered by the Institution are morning and evening classes, geographical class, singing class, Bible class, frequent lectures, a library of fifteen hundred volumes, and a museum of natural curiosities. No sectarian principle is admitted into the management; Sunday school teachers of all denominations of Christians, and the elder scholars of day and Sunday schools are at liberty to avail themselves of the advantage of the society. This

[1] *Ibid.* p. 139.

Institution affords an excellent model, and indicates a certain means by which the great mill-owners in the manufacturing districts may improve the character of their work-people." [1]

The direct educational work of the Churches for adults was done mainly through the Sunday Schools, which did not, in the latter part of the eighteenth century and the earlier part of the nineteenth, confine themselves either to religious instruction or to the teaching of children and young people. Largely because the majority of children, being under no compulsion to attend day school, were put to work as soon as the law allowed, it often happened, especially in thickly populated industrial districts, that the Sunday School afforded a child his only chance of education after he reached the age of eight or ten. Thus in Sheffield in 1822, "while there were 10,000 children in the Sunday Schools of the town, there were only 2,000 in National and Lancasterian schools." [2] The earliest account of the rise and development of Sunday Schools says that "for many years it was on the one hand the custom not to admit very young children, and on the other to dismiss them when they reached the age of 14." But some ten years after its foundation the Sunday School Union issued a circular letter to the press in 1814 (probably stimulated by the rise of the Adult School movement) urging the importance of educating adults. Senior classes or Bible classes were started in America in 1826, and introduced into England in the following year. As ministers found themselves unable to teach these on Sunday in addition to their task of preaching, layworkers added Bible classes to the Sunday Schools, especially in the North, and such classes, often called senior scholars', young men's or young women's, or adult classes, "have come to be considered necessary to every well-conducted Sunday School." [3]

[1] Hudson, *op. cit.* pp. 204-205.

[2] Quoted from a contemporary speech: G. C. Moore Smith, *The Story of the People's College, Sheffield*, p. 2.

[3] W. H. Watson, *The First Fifty Years of the Sunday School* (n.d., but subsequent to 1862), pp. 84, 147, 150. A *questionnaire*, sent out

As a result of social change and religious revival "popular education was still approached as a missionary enterprise for the uplifting of a neglected class, where earlier means of training had failed." [1] Philanthropy was coloured largely by religion, but was influenced also by the fact that the industrial revolution had created a large class of town labourers, who, in the struggle for subsistence, had become almost brutalised. This accounted for the philanthropic attempt "to extend the elements of religious and literary instruction to the majority who were already in the way of earning a livelihood. The special incentive in this later movement was the hope of securing a decent observance of Sunday. Partly for this reason, partly also because it was natural to select a time when the industrial population was most accessible and assistance in teaching could most readily be obtained, effort was concentrated on the promotion of Sunday Schools, which remained for an indefinite period the most widely organised medium of instruction for young and old and the starting-point for further experiments. The Sunday School led back to the Day School, and was often connected with a system of night classes during the week." In 1805, at the opening of a gigantic Sunday school built by the mill-owners of Stockport, the Treasurer said, "We expect thousands of children will here be taught *not only the grounds of human science*, but the first principles of Christian religion." [2] There were 600 adults attending Sunday Schools in East London in 1816; while we hear of the Schools at Manchester a little later that it was quite usual for scholars to continue in attendance

in 1832 to 2,500 schools and dealing with seventy-eight distinct points, elicited the fact that "special 'Bible Classes' for church members, and 'adult classes'" were a common development. Cf. *The Encyclopaedia of Sunday Schools and Religious Education* (1915), s.v. Sunday School History, Middle Period, vol. iii. p. 1029.

[1] Dobbs, *op. cit.* p. 139.

[2] Italics mine. This school, founded in 1784, has always been interdenominational, has provided for both children and adults, and in 1914 had over 5000 (including a large Brotherhood) on the books. Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Sunday Schools*, s.v. Stockport, iii. pp. 1003-4.

until they reached the age of twenty-five, having begun when they were six. A particularly interesting Census Report of 1851 speaks of the senior class as "the *grand desideratum* to the perfect working of the Sunday School system," but observes that this implies the need of "a higher order of teachers." [1] The Sunday Schools produced "many working men of sufficient talent to become readers, writers, and speakers in the village meetings for parliamentary reform." [2] On the other hand, we find Sir Benjamin Heywood, in an address to the members of the Manchester Mechanics' Institute on the valuable influence exerted by the Institute on the lives and careers of its members, emphasising the number of these who had become "active and zealous teachers in the various Sunday Schools of the town." [3] There would thus seem to have been a considerable amount of informal reciprocal influence between the Churches and the societies specifically constituted for adult education.

By the middle of the century this had declined very markedly. Dr. Hudson deplores the fact that in 1850 "the Christian Associations of London do not possess a greater

[1] "For without some means of continuous instruction and maintaining influence when the scholar enters the most critical period of life, the chances are that what has been already done will prove to have been done in vain. But in proportion to the importance of these senior classes is the difficulty of establishing and conducting them, a higher order of teachers being needful, whose superiority of intellect and information shall command the willing deference of the scholars, while their hearty sympathy with those they teach shall render the connection rather one of friendship than of charity. Such classes, too, will not be long continued with efficiency unless the teacher feels so strong an interest in his pupils as to make their secular prosperity a portion of his care. It is obvious, therefore, that the scheme requires for its development more aid from those who are in age, position, and intelligence considerably superior to most of the present teachers, and who hitherto have very sparingly contributed their personal efforts to the cause of the Sunday School." *Census of Great Britain, 1851—Education in Great Britain*; the Official Report of Horace Mann, Esq., p. 71. Quoted by W. H. Watson, *op. cit.* p. 151.

[2] Dobbs, *op. cit.* pp. 140, 150, 154, 218 n. [3] Hole, *op. cit.* p. 34.

intellectual proportion of the working mechanics," and that in London particularly there was nothing to meet the needs of the children who were " leaving the free schools (National, British and Congregational), the cheap academies, and the Sunday Schools, to take up their position as the working men of this country," and were likely to lose, by contact with their older fellow-workers, the taste for learning that the schools had given them.[1] The Y.M.C.A. was founded in 1844, and by 1851 had already extended into the chief provincial cities, but there its branches had but few members, " notwithstanding the attractions of tea." In London it had, in 1848, one hundred and ten members attending its evening classes, in 1849 two hundred, and in 1850 one hundred and fifty, the classes including among other subjects French, Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Psalmody. " The Biblical instruction classes and devotional evenings ' have been characterised by vitality, harmony and simplicity.' " Apparently it did not approve of Mechanics' Institutes because of their recreative activities. " It was not contended that public amusements at certain intervals were an impropriety, but that the amusements, which had been blended with the working of Mechanics' Institutes, did not afford that moral and intellectual instruction which was congenial to the dignity and destination of man. It was asserted that as knowledge of every description should be subservient to the illustration of divine truth by the advancement of the human race in morality, and in preparing them

[1] Hudson, *op. cit.* p. 212. Over against this is W. H. Watson's statement, made *circ.* 1862, that " To Sunday Schools is owing that increased attention to the education of the people, which has ended in raising England from almost the lowest in the scale to but one step below the highest, there being now one in seven of her population in attendance at daily schools " (*op. cit.* pp. 160-161). Of Sunday Schools he says that " every Lord's day, and on many other occasions, there are nearly 300,000 teachers, of various grades of intellectual acquirement, in close intercourse with above 3,000,000 of the young people of our land. It is not surprising, under these circumstances, to find a great improvement in the intellectual character of our people, *and that it has been thought right to extend the enjoyment of political privileges* " (*loc. cit.*). Italics mine.

for the employment of the future and eternal,—it is the duty of all Christian ministers to institute and support a new class of societies embodying these principles. The Sunday School teachers presented the first available material for carrying out this object." [1]

6. THE ATTITUDE OF LEADERS IN RELIGION

Whatever they may have endeavoured to do within their own spheres, however, the ministers and clergy were as a rule either indifferent or actively opposed to the " secular " institutions, and their attitude evoked strong comment from men who both knew the possibilities of moral and spiritual influence latent in these institutions and were themselves sufficiently broadminded and practical to recognise the fatal nature of the effect that sectarianism and narrow religious orthodoxy would have upon adult education. " While we are speaking of patronage to these Institutions," says Hole, " we may perhaps refer to the position which the clergy sustains to them. It is a matter to be deeply regretted that the clergy have not taken an active part in aiding and promoting them. The consequence of the clergy holding aloof is bad in the towns, as it gives the Institutions a sectional and party character foreign to their design and nature. But in the rural districts, the opposition, tacit or avowed, of the clergy, where it prevails far too generally, either prevents such an Institution existing at all, or destroys its efficiency." He proceeds to point out that in villages the parson has control of the school-room to lend or to withhold, that he can make the Institution fashionable or the reverse, that he often is the only qualified leader available—and yet insists on playing the part of dictator rather than friend. His position would give him great advantages in the work of an Institution, yet he flings these away. He is the official enemy of drunkenness, sensuality, and ignorance, yet refuses so powerful an ally as the Institution might be, while also he misses an open road to the intellects and the hearts of

[1] Hudson, *op. cit.* pp. 203-204.

his parishoners.[1] Dr. Hudson is even more caustic on the subject of the clergy of the Established Church, though he pays warm tribute to the Dissenting Ministers for their help.[2]

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 92-93. In another passage concerning the need of village Institutes, he regretfully remarks: "The squire, or the clergyman, is the only person who could render effectual help, but in not one instance out of a score do they look with favour upon the plan—well, indeed, if they do not oppose it as 'new-fangled and dangerous.' They have never seen the labourer in any other state than that of besotted ignorance, and they care not to believe any other possible. Intelligence, as they conceive of it, means insubordination, while literary taste of the humblest kind is but another name for laziness and discontent." *Ibid.* p. 130.

[2] "The Mechanics' Institutions established in England during the years 1824 to 1835, with few exceptions, received the most direct opposition from that powerful section of the Community, the clergy of the established church. In the metropolis neither the indifference nor the fears of incumbents and curates appear to have been heeded by the people; but in the provinces where their influence was greater, they for some time retarded the growth of these societies, and it was found that the only advocates for the extension of education were dissenting ministers, who readily and cordially bestowed their aid, adding strength and stability to the adult schools of the country. When it was discovered that these Institutes had become formidable and enduring means of moral instruction, the more enlightened of the clergy, who perceived that antagonism was abortive, adopted a middle course and collected around them the young men of their several congregations and formed them into societies which they termed Church of England Institutions. The plan and arrangement of these societies so closely resembled the Mechanics' Institutions, that with few exceptions, the only difference to be found was the exclusive test of membership that every applicant should be subscribers to one form of creed—members of the church recognised by the law of the country. In many towns where the dissenters were few and unimportant, the base upon which the Institutes were founded was sufficient to ensure their comparative success as at Stourbridge, Bradford, Wakefield, and Hereford; but in Leeds, Sheffield, and Bury, where religious feeling was more divided, antagonism to the societies, open to all irrespective of creed, soon left the clergy and the managers with heavy responsibilities which they were compelled to meet with their private purses. The failure of the second attempt to frown down Mechanics' Institutes, together with the desultory mode of management and

There were notable exceptions, among the rank and file, and among the leaders of the Churches. Archbishop Whately, the Bishop of St. David's, the Dean of Ripon, and the Bishop of Norwich are cited as advising their clergy to co-operate with the secular movements and themselves offering notable examples in their practical efforts.[1] But, on the whole, the clerical mind was opposed to adult education.

Nor were evangelical laymen less fanatical or lacking in perception. Wilberforce feared to educate the poor lest they should become atheists. Shaftesbury, early in his career, called upon the Government to "consider the best means of diffusing the benefits and blessings of moral and religious education among the working classes," and later accomplished much through the Ragged School Movement which he started. But in 1850, in a debate on W. J. Fox's Bill for providing free elementary education, with religious instruction in accordance with the wishes of the parents, Shaftesbury vehemently opposed the proposal, meanwhile pointing proudly to the Ragged Schools which "showed that religion must be the alpha and omega of all education given to the poorer classes." By religion he meant evangelical Christianity of the type to which he himself was so devoted. Accordingly he wrote in 1855: "I dread, sadly dread, these schemes of national education. Pakington, who is a good man, has taken the lead in a scheme for local rates to maintain the education of the people. Such a plan is a death-warrant to the teaching of evangelical religion. *It had better be called a water-rate to extinguish religious fire among young people.*" Accordingly "he did not actually

too prominent attention to amusement, apparent in their later proceedings, led many of the clergy of the established church to solicit evangelical ministers, of all denominations, to join with them in forming associations, from the various Christian denominations of the town, 'for the improvement of the spiritual and mental condition of young men.' To so good and important a work every facility was afforded by a large proportion of the religious public, and Institutions under various titles were ushered into existence." *Op. cit.* pp. 201-202.

[1] Hole, *op. cit.* p. 93. Hudson, *op. cit.* p. 145.

oppose the Education Act of 1870, but he gave it a very cold welcome." [1]

While, however, official representatives and prominent supporters of the Churches often proved a hindrance rather than a help to adult education between 1800 and 1850, and thereby missed a great opportunity of strengthening the spiritual forces that lay beneath social and political as well as intellectual movements among the people, religion itself exerted a powerful influence in favour of progress. Glancing back at the eighteenth century, we find ample evidence for Mr. Dobbs' reiterated assertion that the Methodist Revival was one of the well-springs from which the broadening stream of adult education flowed into the nineteenth. "Methodism, by its civilising influence, prepared the way for economic improvement; the advance of industry, producing steadier conditions of employment, encouraged a higher standard of living and removed obstacles to spiritual growth. Both influences wrought through educational channels, and combined in developing a more complete type of personality. If Methodism deepened the spiritual consciousness of the people and made them responsible for the religious training of their children, economic progress helped to enforce the claims of secular knowledge. By the close of the century there were said to be few miners in the district (Cornwall) unacquainted with the lower branches of arithmetic; and owing to the attention paid to improvements in machinery and technique, a good miner had generally some knowledge of practical geometry." In a similar way, during the early part of the nineteenth century, "politics and religion went together in the debating societies formed among the artisans and tradesmen of London and the provincial towns." Methodists in Lancashire formed reading circles to study Paine's *Age of Reason* and *The Rights of Man*.[2]

[1] Cf. J. L. and Barbara Hammond, *Lord Shaftesbury*, pp. 87, 252, 256.

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 47-48, 119-120. Speaking of conditions in the early part of the century, Mr. G. M. Trevelyan pays a high tribute to the educational influence of the Free Churches: "The beneficed clergy, many of whom were active magistrates, were suspect to the work-

It was a Congregational minister, the Rev. R. S. Bayley, in Sheffield, and an Anglican clergyman, the Rev. F. D. Maurice, in London, who initiated the People's College movement when the Mechanics' Institutes had been proved failures from the point of view of winning and holding the mass of the working people. Both men were humanists rather than philanthropists. They stood in the true succession of Dr. Birkbeck.[1] They desired to lead their students, but not to be dictators. They understood that moral and intellectual as well as social fellowship is an essential part of education. They did not hesitate to relate education to the thorny but vital questions of everyday life in the community and the nation. Their purpose was frankly spiritual, and they found that in declaring this they did not drive the workman away, but touched a deep and responsive chord in his heart. While only the London Working Men's College survived for more than a few years,[2] it and the earlier one at Sheffield struck a note in adult education which was not forgotten by the promoters of

men as 'black dragoons' of the possessing classes. But many of the more self-respecting of the new proletariat found in the Baptist or Wesleyan chapel the opportunity for the development of talents and the gratification of instincts that were denied expression elsewhere. The close and enthusiastic study of the Bible educated the imagination more nobly than it is educated in our age of magazines, novelettes, and newspapers. And in the chapel life working men first learnt to speak and to organise, to persuade and to trust their fellows. Much effort that soon afterwards went into political, trade union, and co-operative activities, was then devoted to the chapel community. It was in Little Bethel that many of the working-class leaders were trained. In a world made almost intolerable by avarice and oppression, here was a refuge where men and things were taken up aloft and judged by spiritual and moral standards that forbade either revenge or despair." *British History in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 160.

[1] Cf. Dobbs, *op. cit.* p. 181. "Birkbeck's first efforts were full of promise. His enlightenment was free from the taint of patronage. He wished to share with others the fruits of his learning, and he made a silent appeal to the comradeship of his hearers."

[2] Unless the Vaughan Memorial College at Leicester, which developed more on the lines of a Technical Institute, be counted.

other adult educational movements between 1850 and 1900, and which has now become dominant in two of the outstanding movements of to-day, the Workers' Educational Association and the Educational Settlements.

7. PEOPLE'S COLLEGES

The Sheffield College was founded in 1842, with a view to giving the youth of the middle and working classes a more advanced education than Mechanics' Institutes provided.[1] Latin, Greek, French, German, Mathematics, English Literature, Logic, Elocution, and Drawing, besides the ordinary educational subjects, was the curriculum proposed, Mr. Bayley himself doing most of the teaching.[2] At the end of the first year there were 300 students. Mr. Bayley laid stress upon the importance of a guiding and controlling mind in such an institution, and pointed to the lack of it in Mechanics' Institutes as a reason for their decline. He also insisted on steady class-work, as opposed to the mere hearing of lectures, and encouraged the social element in the life of the college. The students' appeal for fresh recruits at the end of the first year was based on their feeling that "next to religion, education is the greatest power and honour of

[1] See Hudson, *op. cit.* p. 163; Dobbs, *op. cit.* pp. 113, 184, 247; Sadler, *Continuation Schools*, pp. 32-34. Dobbs says: "The People's College at Sheffield, and similar institutions which developed during the middle years of the Nineteenth Century, represent the intellectual side of a progressive movement whose aim was to raise the status of the masses, and which finds an illustration in the familiar antithesis between a training for livelihood and a training for life." Sadler's account is based on that given by T. Rowbotham, President of the College, in the *Working Men's College Magazine*, 1859, vol. i. The best account is given by Prof. G. C. Moore Smith in *The Story of the People's College, Sheffield* (1912).

[2] "He was a lover of works of art—of pictures in particular, an ardent educationalist, widely read in English literature, familiar with the Greek and Roman classics, as well as with the masterpieces of Italian literature, and withal a Hebrew scholar." Quoted from R. W. Goulding in *Story*, p. 8. For the subjects studied, see *Story* pp. 12, 21, 27, etc.

man in the present life." [1] The conditions were arduous—a bare, whitewashed room at 6.30 a.m. in winter, for an hour and a half, and again for two or three hours in the evening. But the students came. "Owing to untoward circumstances," we are told, "the numbers began to fall off about 1846, and in September 1848, when Mr. Bayley left Sheffield for London, the College was all but extinct." His inspiration remained, however. Sixteen young students reorganised the College under a committee consisting of twelve of them. It was on a basis of self-government and self-support. In 1849 five hundred and thirty young men and women were on the roll of students; in 1849 and 1850 the average daily attendance was upwards of one hundred and twenty, the average age of the students being about twenty-two. There were forty classes every week (Latin and Greek do not appear in the list), "chiefly conducted by students themselves, with the help of a few friends from outside, on the monitorial system." A rule was adopted that "subjects bearing upon party politics or sectarianism shall not be introduced in the classes." At the same time, "it is the opinion of the Committee that a class embracing the general topics of Moral Philosophy might be very advantageously introduced, for they think that besides giving a tone to the institution, the great fundamental doctrines of moral obligation might be taught without giving offence to any." [2] Later, classes having "a direct bearing upon the industrial pursuits that distinguished the town" were added. The final gathering of students took place in the year 1879, when the Firth College, which ultimately became the University of Sheffield, was founded.[3]

People's Colleges were started in Norwich[4] (when the Athenaeum there was declining) and Nottingham, but with little of the energy or success that had characterised the Sheffield enterprise.[5] Between 1858 and 1862 there were

[1] *Story*, pp. 24, 11, 33. [2] *Story*, p. 49. [3] Moore Smith, *op. cit.* p. 67.

[4] Mr. Bayley had a great deal to do with this. Cf. *Story of People's College, Sheffield*, p. 39.

[5] Hudson, *op. cit.* pp. 145, 148.

others established in Cambridge, Ancoats (Manchester), Wolverhampton, Manchester, Salford, Halifax, Oxford, Liverpool, Leicester, and elsewhere.[1] But these owed their origin to the impulse created by F. D. Maurice through the London Working Men's College rather than to the example of the Sheffield one. Indeed, the supreme importance of the Sheffield experiment is now seen to be its part in suggesting the larger plan to F. D. Maurice when he approached the problem ten years after the Sheffield College had been founded.

Some indication has already been given of the extent to which Maurice and his group of friends accompanied their practical experiment in co-operation, as an application of Christian Socialism, with the provision of classes and lectures, ultimately deciding that the educational task was the more important in the interests of Co-operation itself.[2] The failure of Chartism in 1848 may have led Maurice to a similar conclusion from the political standpoint.[3]

[1] Sadler, *op. cit.* pp. 44-45 ; Moore Smith, *op. cit.* p. 71.

[2] See pp. 227-229 *supra.*

[3] " To those who interpreted public events from the standpoint of Christian Socialism, the most impressive feature in the Chartist agitation, side by side with its evidence of social disunion, was the absence of ideals and guiding principles in any way commensurate with the passion it evoked. The moral purport of the movement was a claim on the part of the industrial classes to political manhood ; but its source lay in an unhealthy state of society. The new forces which had been called into play seemed likely to waste themselves in ineffectual, because ignorant, revolt, and to degenerate on the return of prosperity, for want of higher ideals, in the pursuit of selfish and commonplace ambitions. It was necessary that education should start with the problem of social reconstruction, and should be grounded on a deeper and more spiritual analysis than had underlain earlier movements. The new ideal was not information, but the enrichment of personality ; a conception which at the outset tended to draw a hard distinction between technical and liberal studies. The development of individuality was approached through an appeal to corporate feeling. Lastly, following out the conception of social reunion and admitting the postulate of human brotherhood, it was claimed that education is a reciprocal process, involving an interchange of thought between teachers and learners and a per-

In the "History of the Working Men's College," which he wrote for the *Working Men's College Magazine*,[1] Dr. F. J. Furnivall tells how "the Paris February Revolution of 1848 said to a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, Mr. John Malcolm Ludlow, Are you lawyers doing your duty to the poor in the place where you earn your fees?" Maurice was then Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn. Ludlow consulted him, and a group got to work in Little Ormond Yard, where they started a day-school for children, and a night-school for men and boys which they taught themselves. They met weekly in Maurice's rooms for tea, chat, and the reading of the Bible together. From this sprang their venture into Co-operation, the establishment of the Working Men's Association, and the building of the Hall of Association in Castle Street, where a few classes and lectures for

sistent reaction of mind on mind. . . . It is certain that the founders of the Working Men's College in Red Lion Square claimed the two-fold inspiration of Chartism and the Sheffield experiment." Dobbs, *op. cit.* pp. 183-184. No summary of the aims of Maurice and his friends could be more apt. But probably the inspiration of Chartism was more positive than Dobbs indicates. Lovett was perpetually urging upon Chartists the considerations which Dobbs states in the earlier part of the above-quoted paragraph, as also were Cooper and Place. Maurice (cf. *The Representation and Education of the People*) was much more concerned with the actual effects of the extension of the franchise. Probably if the Chartists had succeeded in their agitation they would have applied the educational remedy to their own case. Cf. a recent remark of J. L. Hammond: "If the Chartists had won in 1839, England might have escaped the terrible neglect of housing and education which has left so evil a legacy to our times. But it was due to them that England, the first country to adopt the new industrial system, was also the first to try to reform its worst abuses" (Art. *The New Leader*, Feb. 1, 1924, p. 8). Maurice argued that Chartism was best to be met by "confuting its unrighteous pretensions," and "satisfying its righteous demands," particularly through education, and hoped that Carlyle's new book on Chartism, "if it say nothing about education, may at least help us to know what manner of thing that education must be which is meant for a Chartist age." *Life*, i. pp. 278-9. Carlyle did, of course, after all say a great deal about education in the book.

[1] 1860, pp. 144-148, quoted by Sadler, *Continuation Schools*, pp. 35-41.

Co-operators were conducted. French and Drawing, which Ludlow himself taught, proved attractive, but little success was achieved in either direction. From such small beginnings there soon followed, as the need was appreciated by the group, the establishment, in 1854, of the College in Red Lion Square ;[1] it was removed in 1857 to Great Ormond Street, and in 1904 to its present site in Crowndale Road.

Maurice, now freed from the duties and the shackles of his professorship at King's College, threw himself into the double work of the active principalship of the College and the propagation of its ideals wherever he had opportunity. To this he devoted himself with all his intellectual and spiritual energy for the remainder of his life. The first paragraph in the "Maxims" drafted by Maurice at the request of the Committee and agreed to by them, said : "Our position as members of a society which affirms the operations of trade and industry to be under a moral law—a law concerning the relations of men to each other—obliges us to regard social, political, or, to use a more general phrase, *human*, studies as the primary part of our education." Another said : "It was agreed that the education should be regular and organic, not taking the form of mere miscellaneous lectures or even of classes not related to each other." A third said : "It was agreed that the teachers, and by degrees the pupils, should form an organic body, so that the name College should be at least as applicable to our institution as to University College or to King's College." Still

[1] "A great want had been felt all along for better education among co-operators, and at our meeting on January 11, 1854, the minute book says : 'A conversation took place concerning the establishment of a People's College in London, in connection with the Association, and Mr. Vansittart Neale read a letter received from Mr. Wilson, the Secretary of the People's College, Sheffield, as to its origin and history, and also the five Annual Reports of that institution,' and, further on, 'the following resolution, proposed by Mr. Hughes, seconded by Mr. Lloyd Jones, was carried : "That it is referred to the Committee of Teaching and Publication to frame and, so far as they think fit, carry out a plan for the establishment of a People's College in connection with the Metropolitan Associations."'" Furnivall, *loc. cit.*

another said : " It was determined that the College should, in some sense or other, immediately or ultimately be self-governed and self-supported." [1]

These were very far-reaching principles, and Maurice set himself both to work them out practically in the College, and to expound them in books, articles, and speeches.[2] He unhesitatingly brought everything to the test of the central truths of Christianity, as he understood them. The weekly Bible class that he conducted at the College was his great delight, and was among the best attended of all the classes.[3] At the same time, not only was the Bible class entirely voluntary, but Maurice welcomed the aid of teachers who differed from him in their theological views. The unpaid staff that he gathered about him were as much distinguished for their religious sincerity as for their scholarship and breadth of social sympathy.[4]

The most succinct account of the origin of the College and of the principles upon which it was conducted is that given by Maurice in an address to the Manchester, Salford, and Ancoats Working Men's Colleges in the Corn Exchange, Manchester, in 1859.[5] He told how a little knot of university men, of different professions, sought refuge from the narrowness of professional life by contact with men of quite different circumstances on the plane of their common humanity. They were in fear, not for their prosperity or

[1] Furnivall, *loc. cit.* p. 146.

[2] In particular see the course of six lectures delivered by Maurice at Willis' Rooms in June and July, 1854, and published, as the first part of the volume entitled *Learning and Working*, in 1855. The subjects of the lectures were Juvenile and Adult Learning ; Learning and Leisure ; Learning and Money Worship Incompatible ; Learning the Minister of Freedom and Order ; The Studies in a Working College ; The Teachers in a Working College.

[3] Cf. *Learning and Working*, Preface, p. xv.

[4] See *The Working Men's College*, 1854-1904, pp. 9-10. Religious knowledge was one of the required subjects in the examinations for certificates and Fellowships.

[5] *Working Men's College Magazine*, 1859, pp. 28 ff., quoted by Sadler, *op. cit.* pp. 38-40.

position, but lest they should fail to discharge the responsibilities laid upon them by their education. Unless educated people shared their knowledge with their less fortunate fellows, " England would fall first under an anarchy and then under a despotism." The little group had experience of the Mechanics' Institutes and evening classes established in London, but they wanted something more than the mere contact of teacher and taught. They desired to make their teaching a bond of intercourse with those whom they taught. " How that could be, we might never have found out. But the working men themselves found it out. We heard in 1853 that the people of Sheffield had founded a People's College. The news seemed to us to mark a new era in education. We had belonged to Colleges. They had not merely given us a certain amount of indoctrination in certain subjects ; they had not merely prepared us for our particular professions ; they had borne witness of a culture which is the highest of all culture. We had formed in those Colleges friendships which we hoped to keep wherever we went—friendships that had had an influence upon our life and character through all the years that had passed since we left them. . . . Was it not a glorious thing then that the working people should lay hold of this name ; that they should say, ' We are determined we will have Colleges. Whether you set them up among us or not, we will have them, because we want to connect all our education with our social life, with our fellowship as human beings ' ? " On the vexed question of religion and politics, Maurice made no compromise. He said in the same address : " Our first class (indeed before the College was opened) was a Bible class. Over that class I presided, and the course which I pursued was simply this—I read a portion of scripture, I explained what I thought was the meaning of it, then I invited them to ask anything that was in their minds, anything that was pressing on their minds. They met my wish ; and I have never had one cause to complain of want of reverence, nor yet of failure of boldness and freedom to state frankly what they were thinking and feeling. And in

this way I affirm that I have learned more myself than I have imparted. . . . I may speak also of part of our teaching in which we have departed most from the example of the Mechanics' Institutes. From a natural wish to avoid party irritation they resolved that they would avoid politics altogether. We have felt that we could not avoid them. If the nettle is apt to sting, we must grasp it hard that it may not sting us. To have shunned politics would have been to shun the subject which gave the working men the strongest assurances that they were English citizens and English men." [1]

[1] Quoted by M. Sadler, *Continuation Schools*, p. 40, from Maurice's address at Manchester, 1859; recorded in the *Working Men's College Magazine*, Feb., 1859. The subjects taught in the first year were The Gospel of St. John,* the Structure and Functions of the Human Body, Algebra,* Mechanics, English Political Writers of the Sixteenth Century, Geometry, French, English Grammar,* Political Economy, Astronomy, Latin, Drawing,* Sanitary Legislation, Structure and Derivations of English Words, the Law of Joint Stock Companies, the Geography of England as connected with its History, The Reign of Richard II., illustrated by Shakespeare's Play. There was also an evening Adult School to prepare pupils for the College in reading, writing, and arithmetic.* The best attended classes were those asterisked. *Learning and Working*, pp. xv, xxi, xxii.

Claiming a measure of agreement with both the "secular" educationists, who would use all available means of imparting education, and the "anti-secularist," who would make religion the basis of education, Maurice strongly affirmed that in "treating men as spiritual creatures" he would have nothing to do with a mere amalgam—"an eclectical scheme of education which shall be half secular, half religious." "Against this kind of compound I would most earnestly protest. I believe it must be powerless for good to any class, but utterly and demonstrably powerless for the working classes. There is a kind of Christianised teaching about philosophy, history, physiology, which seems to me most unchristian. It is offensive to the scientific man, because it twists facts to a moral; to the devout man, because it treats the laws of God's universe and His acts as less sacred than our inferences from them; to the working man, because he asks us to help him to see the truth of things, and he thinks we are plotting to deceive him. If you regard Christianity as something which is to be spread and sprinkled over the surface of things, to prevent truth from becoming dangerous—if you have

Maurice's personality drew to him university and professional men as teachers, working men (and the necessity of the "adult school" is evidence that they were the sort of men that the Mechanics' Institutes missed) as students. But he welded them into one great fraternity, through the common-room, the College sports, the volunteer corps (though this for a time proved a danger because men sought to join the College merely to qualify for the corps). The quality of the work was sound all through. The College trained teachers from among its students, not only for the purpose of teaching the preparatory classes, but for teaching the more advanced classes also. Examinations were held and certificates awarded. Fellowships were awarded to students who became teachers, and they became members of the governing body of the College—though this democratic element was not so pronounced as some of Maurice's colleagues desired.[1] The course of development which the College took is vividly traced, by a number of those who had known it practically from the start, in the Jubilee volume.[2] After Maurice's death the succession of able and devoted men in the principalship was maintained. The Bible class ceased, and the religious atmosphere became less definite. There was at one time some risk of approach to the character of a technical institute in response to the demands of a certain type of student. But in the main the tradition established by the founders was kept. Maurice endeavoured to bring together the universities and working men. He

not courage to look into the roots of knowledge and science because you are sure that the God of truth and righteousness is there,—you had better leave the working man alone, unless you desire to make him a thousand times more of an infidel than you give him credit for being already. I apprehend that if we are to give the working men an education, we must take them as we find them, not as we would have them to be, in order to make our arrangements for them easier" (*Learning and Working*, pp. 124-126). The last words are remarkably reminiscent of a phrase of James Hole, in the book he published in the previous year—a book that doubtless Maurice read with interest. Cf. p. 244 *supra*.

[1] Cf. Sadler, *op. cit.* p. 42. [2] *The Working Men's College, 1854-1904.*

was a member of both the older universities, and had been a professor of King's College, London. He was quick to mark the emergence of two streams of desire and purpose —that which was beginning in the wish of some university men to share their treasures with the working people, and that which among the more intellectual of the working people coveted knowledge—but as yet these had not found their way into mutual contact.[1] As time went on they began to manifest the inevitable tendency to mingle, but this was not till the University Extension Movement and the earlier University Settlements had made further experiments, and the Workers' Educational Association had shown that the fusion must be effected as spontaneously from the working class side as from that of the university. Meantime, Maurice and his friends had demonstrated the possibilities informally. No university took responsibility for, and no working class organisation as such participated in, the work of the College. But on a basis of personal co-operation he had proved that in adult education spiritual values must be supreme if true and abiding success is to be won.

8. UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

At about the same time as the Mechanics' Institutes were declining occurred the beginning of a new movement in Oxford and Cambridge. As a result partly of enquiries by Royal Commissioners and partly of a memorial presented to Oxford in 1845 praying that the University might be made more accessible to poor students, certain of the more progressive and far-sighted dons were quickened in their desire to extend the influence of the Universities more widely throughout the country. At first it was thought that this might be done by enabling more students to enter the Universities. This was obviously not possible on a scale adequate to the need. In 1846 John Owens, of Manchester, bequeathed a legacy for the advancement of higher education in that city, and the result was the creation of Owens

[1] Cf. Dobbs, *op. cit.* p. 244.

College, which later became part of the Victoria University and finally was the nucleus of the University of Manchester. William Sewell, of Oxford, stimulated by these events, and perhaps also by the efforts of the Unions of Mechanics' Institutes to appoint permanent travelling lecturers,[1] urged in 1850 that if the people could not come to the Universities, the Universities should go to them. In 1855 Lord Arthur Hervey made a similar suggestion to the University of Cambridge in his pamphlet, *A Suggestion for Supplying the Literary, Scientific, and Mechanics' Institutions of Great Britain and Ireland with Lecturers from the Universities.* But no step was taken until Mr. James Stuart, a young Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, " vexed with the insufficiency of the single lecture system which had prevailed in connection with Mechanics' Institutes and Literary Societies," accepted in 1867 invitations from an association of ladies in the North of England to deliver a course of lectures, which he gave at Leeds and repeated at Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield.[2] He was also asked by the Education Committees of the Co-operative Societies at Rochdale and Bury, and by the Junior Manager of some works at Crewe, to give courses, and did so. In 1871 he appealed to the University of Cambridge to take the matter up. In 1872 it appointed a syndicate to examine the question, and received memorials from Co-operative Societies, Mechanics' Institutes, and cities such as Birmingham, Nottingham, Leeds, and Crewe, which approached the University through their mayors and leading

[1] Cf. Hudson, *op. cit.* pp. 175-183 ; Hole, *op. cit.* 123-125.

[2] Professor J. W. Adamson regards as the true germ of all University Extension those extra-mural lectures given to women in 1847 by certain professors of King's College, London, and others (including F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley), which led to the foundation of Queen's College in Harley Street. He also remarks that between 1870 and 1903 " the outstanding facts in the history of higher education were the creation of seven new universities, the further extension of university education among women, and the popularisation of some forms of university teaching beyond the walls of the universities themselves." He shows how " these three movements exhibit a certain measure of interdependence." *Short History,* pp. 321, 327, 328.

inhabitants. The Nottingham memorial pointed to the difficulties that had attended attempts to organise popular lectures, and urged that " men who could attract and really teach working men must be thorough masters of their subject, and able not only to lecture, but also to discuss questions raised in the class. This became obvious on considering the general advance in elementary education, the native intelligence of the artisans of the locality and the continual discussion of political and social questions among them." It asked for lecturers who would hold evening classes for workmen, and at other times give instruction by lectures to the more educated in the same localities, so as to spread the advantages of university education throughout the country to all ranks. The North of England Council for the Education of Women referred to the needs of ladies who had left school (women's colleges had hardly then begun to provide for any considerable number of students), and of teachers. The Leeds memorial spoke of young men of the middle classes, and pleaded for this means of continuing general culture while acquiring technical and business knowledge. In 1873 the University established a Syndicate for Extension Lectures, and in 1876 the London University Extension Society was founded, while Oxford set up its Delegacy for the Extension of University Teaching in 1878.[1]

By 1888 there were 30,000 Extension students in England, and in 1891 there were 464 courses, with 4408 lectures, attended by 45,028 students.[2] The courses attracted men and women of all occupations. Analysis of local membership showed in one instance that the men included graduates, students, artisans, warehousemen, clerks and shopkeepers, large manufacturers and a schoolmaster ; while among the women were daughters of manufacturers, ministers, and

[1] For details, cf. Sadler, *Continuation Schools*, pp. 75-80 ; Mackinder and Sadler, *University Extension, Past, Present and Future*, pp. 1-30 ; and Roberts, *Eighteen Years of University Extension*, pp. 1-2. For the memorials, see Roberts, *op. cit.* pp. 90-96. See also Draper, *University Extension* (1923).

[2] Mackinder and Sadler, *op. cit.* pp. 132, 90.

tradesmen, together with six milliners (apparently the other women had no occupation !). This course was on Political Economy. In the case of another on Greek Tragedy for English Audiences, which was attended by an average audience of 210 in the afternoons and 120 in the evenings, two-thirds of the number were able to pay their half-guinea, and 93, admitted at a reduced charge, included teachers in all grades of schools, pupils in schools, employees in houses of business, artisans, and one domestic servant. In the North, especially, large audiences composed practically entirely of working men (chiefly miners, in Northumberland and Durham) were gathered together, and when at York difficulty was found in securing working men students because of the amount of the fee, a special device whereby a committee of working men became responsible for selling a definite number of tickets at a reduced charge at once solved the problem. " The results of this experiment are highly successful, as proving that artisans will avail themselves of the lectures, if the fees are low enough and the management is placed in the hands of a committee of their own class." As for the students in general, they came because " the subjects taught and the method of teaching have come into some kind of real relation with the everyday life of the people." [1] At first it was thought necessary to organise three separate courses in one town in order to meet the needs of different types of student—women, young men in the position of clerks or shop-assistants, and working people. This proved too costly.[2] But it was also unnecessary. In any event, young men did not prove responsive, and the lectures intended particularly for artisans were by no means exclusively or even mainly attended by students of that type. " Still, the working people who did attend were full of an enthusiasm and earnestness that gave life and vitality to the movement." [3] Work-people in general responded less overwhelmingly than the promoters hoped, though the

[1] Roberts, *op. cit.* pp. 14-15, 30.

[2] Mackinder and Sadler, *op. cit.* pp. 26-27.

[3] Roberts, *op. cit.* p. 16.

North maintained its reputation for enthusiasm; certain Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies gave corporate support to the lectures, and in one instance at any rate artisan students secured the support of their societies and made a course possible when the Committee were about to abandon the lectures in despair. But the hindrances in the way of working people were "want of a better primary education," constant overtime work at their employment, and the fees charged for membership.[1] Generally speaking, however, the trouble lay deeper. The country was not yet ready for such a movement on a large scale. "The fact was that in most places no really general demand for higher education existed. It had to be created almost everywhere, and in many towns the work has still to be done. In every place a few of the leading inhabitants, the majority, perhaps, of the professional classes, a fair number of tradesmen, and not a few working men, were keenly alive to the value of the lectures which the University of Cambridge had decided to offer. There was abundant reason that their desire for higher education should be met; but the difficulty was that there were so few people who really felt the desire. Without the assistance of others, they could hardly be expected to support the considerable expense of the full programme of lectures." [2] In order to meet some of these difficulties Oxford introduced the short courses of six lectures, as against the twelve that had been the rule with Cambridge, and at first with Oxford. London went further and arranged very successful sets of "People's Lectures," three in each set, admission being free by ticket, the Extension scheme being explained, and a vote taken as to whether an ordinary course should be arranged. Crowded audiences were secured, and in many cases full courses followed.[3] These sets of lectures were distinct from the usual courses, and the Extension Authorities carefully safeguarded the number and the quality of lectures in the ordinary course, arranging also for certificates, diplomas, and the affiliation of students to

[1] Roberts, *op. cit.* pp. 17-18. [2] Mackinder and Sadler, *op. cit.* p. 27.
[3] Cf. Roberts, *op. cit.* pp. 69-73.

universities, as a result of success in examinations following the courses. While, too, the cost of the lectures made it necessary to secure large audiences of several hundred people, the class following the lecture for those who wished to attend it, the essays or answers to papers of questions set to the class, and the examinations at the end of term were intended to secure serious work. Summer meetings at Oxford and Cambridge, with bursaries for students of ability who could not afford the expense, brought more of the university atmosphere into the movement, enabled students to do a little more concentrated work, and brought students and lecturers into something of a corporate relationship.[1]

Despite all that the movement accomplished before the end of the century, however, it could not be acclaimed as the fulfilment of the desires either of the universities or of the adult students, and particularly of working-class students, throughout the country. Except in a few well-marked districts it became a middle-class movement, with more women students than men, apt to be discontinuous in choice of subjects for successive courses, and necessarily unable to accomplish really effective class work with more than a tithe of those who attended the lectures. Its weaknesses were frankly admitted by those most devoted to its ideals and most energetic in its service.[2] Addressing themselves to the situation as their first twenty years of experience had revealed it, those chiefly responsible for the movement about 1890 were able to report a steadily growing demand.[3] Mean-

[1] Cf. Mackinder and Sadler, *op. cit.* pp. 33-37, 76-83.

[2] Cf. Mackinder and Sadler, *op. cit.* pp. 96-97. "The lack of sequence in the subjects of the courses; the fact that, comparatively speaking, so few young men attend the lectures; and, above all, the small degree to which the scheme has been made available for the working classes, despite the fact that, under occasionally fortunate circumstances, they have shown that they might be its most enthusiastic supporters; all three weak points are ultimately due to the difficulties of men and money."

[3] Mackinder and Sadler, *op. cit.* pp. 98-99; Roberts, *op. cit.* pp. 90-106.

time the system had features of permanent value. "We claim that it contains all the elements required in a great teaching system, the personal touch with the teacher, the reading of selected books, the writing of essays, and their criticism, discussion in the class and in the Students' Association, the test of the examination. It includes even the nucleus of a system of residence in the midst of academic surroundings." [1] Extension work in certain towns had already given rise to Local Colleges, which generally became University Colleges, and have in one or two cases since received full charters as Universities. But it turned out that the Local Colleges did not always fulfil the hopes of the pioneers of University Extension. They tended to become technical rather than liberal, and to segregate students rather than to be centres of higher education for the whole locality.[2]

The main achievements of University Extension courses during the first thirty years of the movement have been well summarised by Sir Michael Sadler. "Their function has been in the main stimulative, but they have elicited much hidden talent and have given encouragement and guidance to very large numbers of isolated students. They have been especially effective in diffusing instruction in historical and literary subjects, and have been an important factor in checking the tendency towards a narrow and too utilitarian view of adult education. In many provincial towns, especially during the earlier years of the work, they brought together for the first time for an educational purpose sections of the community which had previously been unaccustomed or unwilling to co-operate. Thus at a critical time the University Extension courses and the work involved in their local organisation were of service in promoting greater unity of social effort, especially among different sections of the middle classes." [3] These were important

[1] Mackinder and Sadler, *op. cit.* pp. 96-97.

[2] Cf. Roberts, *op. cit.* pp. 107-115; Mackinder and Sadler, *op. cit.* pp. 28, 121, 130-131.

[3] *Continuation Schools*, p. 79.

contributions to the maintenance of spiritual aims and the emphasis upon spiritual values in adult education. They were not made without sacrifice. We have already referred to the danger that arose about 1890 when the increased powers of County Councils and the availability of the "whiskey money" for the purposes of technical education might have led to the diversion of the main effort of University Extension from liberal to technical education.[1] In so far as the Universities provided lectures on scientific subjects and the courses had a definite bearing on a man's daily occupation, the nature and purpose of the courses was such that the student's mind was directed to the principles of the natural sciences and not to the details of his trade.[2] The desires of the students themselves were liberal. "The aim of the great majority of these students is not to make themselves professional scholars, but by self-culture to widen and deepen their ideals of life."[3] "To all, the education they are thus enabled to acquire brings a fuller life with indefinite possibilities, and to some, the near prospect of advancement into positions of trust and honour. No one can witness the eagerness with which working people like the Northumberland pitmen strive for higher education, without a deepening of the sense of sympathy and fellowship."[4] This desire was stimulated and strengthened by the Extension Authorities. Their view was quite definite. "By giving contact with the greatest thoughts of the world, such training imparts higher ideals of life, of citizenship, and of religion, and is therefore as necessary to the well-being of a democratic state as technical training is to that of an industrial and commercial state."[5] Their work at once asserted this fundamental truth and revealed the closeness with which it lies at the heart of the common people.

[1] Mackinder and Sadler, *op. cit.* pp. v-vi, 132-134; Roberts, *op. cit.* pp. 116-122.

[2] Roberts, *op. cit.* p. 16.

[3] Mackinder and Sadler, *op. cit.* p. 73.

[4] Roberts, *op. cit.* p. 26.

[5] Mackinder and Sadler, *op. cit.* p. 142.

9. THE DECISIVE FACTOR

Any attempt at a philosophy of history is beset by obvious dangers. It is difficult enough to arrive at the facts, and to present them objectively. With the effort to interpret them comes the temptation to give undue prominence to such as will support a preconceived theory. Even so long a chapter as the foregoing one must be tested by comparison with a full history of adult education in the nineteenth century, and unfortunately we are still waiting for the historian to appear. But while we have selected aspects of the chief movements which are specially relevant to our particular enquiry, and to which perhaps insufficient attention has hitherto been directed, it is to be hoped that we are not open to the charge of ignoring or undervaluing the others. If now we formulate the conclusion which the evidence appears to suggest—namely, that by the place they gave to spiritual values in education these enterprises stood or fell—it is not hastily, or without taking into account much that we have not space to record. For example, external circumstances often exerted a definite influence upon the prosperity of an organisation or a movement. Frederick Denison Maurice's controversy with the authorities of King's College resulted in his being set free for the great task of building up the Working Men's College. On the other hand, when Mr. Bayley met with disapproval on the part of a section of his congregation in Sheffield the People's College became involved, and this, together with Mr. Bayley's lack of ability to handle financial matters, led to his departure from Sheffield and the temporary decline of the College. Less personal factors might be instanced in connection with the wider movements, but these will suffice by way of illustration. The main point is that we should if possible discern the dominant features of the various movements themselves as exhibited in their leadership, their student-life, and their policy—both professed and practical. This in our short sketch the present writer has tried to do. As a result he believes that we may fairly maintain the statement made at

the beginning of the chapter. The spiritual character of each movement was clearly a decisive factor in its history, and he would even go so far as to say that it was *the* decisive factor.

Thus the Adult Schools, started with a purpose that blended general philanthropy and evangelical enthusiasm, were reinforced and enriched in their educational activity by the desire on the part of those who later re-established the movement to bring fulness of spiritual life to the men and women whose intellectual and social opportunities had been unfairly restricted. The Co-operative Movement was marked by an ethical enthusiasm, an emphasis upon the development of a certain type of character, which inspired the demand for liberal culture. Both movements fluctuated in strength and varied from time to time in their actual programmes, but in each the principle of continuity was the spiritual principle. It has kept them alive to this day, and, as it gained force or for a while became enfeebled, so did the respective movements grip or lose hold upon the mass of the people to whom they made their appeal.

On the other hand, the Mechanics' Institutes, despite the intentions of those who founded the earliest of them, failed in most instances to provide those humanistic studies which, as the rise of the People's Colleges showed, were what working people really desired. The life was crushed out of them by the refusal of those who controlled them to permit the objective study of politics and religion, since these were at the root of all that really interested working men of the time—who in that matter represent most men of all times. They too often lapsed into mere technical institutes or allowed serious work to be crowded out by amusement. Where they missed their opportunity most disastrously was in the vital matters of leadership and the spirit of the common-room. Those which survived and accomplished something at least of what they set out to do—such, for example, as the London Institute, and its later development, Birkbeck College—won through because a little group of enthusiasts fought against all odds for democratic govern-

ment, a liberal curriculum, and a true comradeship among the students. The development of Lyceums was a reaction under the stress of demand for something to satisfy the imaginative and social elements in the life of the people. In the Libraries and Reading-rooms men found the enlightenment and stimulus they wanted in their pursuit of political and social interests. All of these needs and desires were to one degree or another met by the University Extension Movement towards the end of the century, but it was a little before its time, and the method of lecturing to large audiences did not permit of that adaptation to the very varied types of students of which those audiences were at first composed ; neither did it allow sufficiently—save where the class after each lecture was a reality, and then necessarily only for a few—of the personal contact and unrestricted self-expression which are essential to success in adult education. Then, too, though the subjects treated by the lecturers were indeed liberal, they were not infrequently too remote from the common interests of the majority of people to evoke the expected response.

As to the classes, lecture courses, debating societies, and so forth, carried on by the Churches themselves, the Bible classes and senior classes in Sunday Schools, the Young Men's Societies, and other fruits of the awakening among people in the Churches to the needs of the time, these are exceptionally difficult to evaluate. Their success, which after all was not small, proved that adults had an interest in the intellectual as well as in the emotional aspects of religion ; their weakness, which is equally noticeable in efforts made by, or in more or less direct connection with, the Churches to-day, was that they did not challenge the minds of men and women with sufficient vigour, and that they allowed the lighter social interests of their members to predominate far too often over the educational ones. Also, as we have seen, many of the leaders in the Churches manifested an amazing antagonism to the mental enfranchisement of the people.

Going back, for our interpretation of the term " spiritual

values," to our discussion of that subject in the opening chapters of this book, we may without hesitation affirm that the progress of adult education during the nineteenth century is demonstrated by all the available records to have been determined by the extent to which those values were set, and kept, in the forefront of each new movement as it arose.

VIII

THEORY AND PRACTICE

William Lovett once made the quaint suggestion that the Government should set up a Department of Education and Religion. "The Church," he says, "belonging to the people, should, I conceive, be placed under the control of *the People's Representatives in Parliament*, and under the management of the minister responsible to them—say, a Minister of Education and Religion, as the two functions could be well blended." [1] He could not tolerate a bench of Bishops, because he thought them luxurious and reactionary, but he had a poignant sympathy with underpaid curates. In his view the business of the Church was to teach as much as to preach. He was devoted to the practical Christianity which he repeatedly described. On the other hand he had a passion for education, in which he saw the supreme hope of personal and social progress. In season and out of season he urged it as a remedy for the miseries and disorders that affected the working classes in his day. The manifestoes that he wrote for the many political societies to which he belonged invariably came sooner or later to that point. When he drafted the famous Charter, he introduced it there. But his was an enthusiasm of the spirit, and no mere intellectual interest in a well formulated scheme for the advancement of the people. His sharpest challenge to conventional

[1] *Life and Struggles*, p. 399. Incidentally we recall the fact that in 1771 Frederick the Great's minister, Zedlitz, "already Minister of Justice, assumed in addition the portfolio of Minister for Ecclesiastical and Educational Affairs, and forthwith inaugurated the policy of founding a national system of education, independent of the Prussian State Church." J. W. Adamson, *A Short History of Education* (1922), p. 237.

Christians sprang from his feeling that in this, above all, they were unfaithful to the true religion. "Do the great bulk of our so-called *religionists*, who exhibit such zeal to convert the heathen, think it *a religious duty* to instruct, elevate, and improve the vast numbers of our adult population, whose education has been neglected?" [1]

The history of adult education shows that men's minds have never failed in some way or other either to connect it with religion, or at least to regard it as essentially a spiritual quest. Conversely, all the pioneers of this adventure have been men obviously driven by a spiritual impulse. Many of them, indeed, have been confessed and loyal Christians. True as Lovett's strictures may have been with regard to "religious people" in general, and aptly as his words may be applied to the Church as a whole both before his day and since, adult education in England was cradled in the household of faith.[2] It was reserved for the philosophers of a later generation to work out the relationship in theory. The men and women of the nineteenth century set themselves to the task of adult education because they felt that they held a spiritual treasure in store, and must share it, or else because they were conscious of spiritual impoverishment and believed this to be the sure path towards attainment of the riches which they claimed as their natural human heritage. To-day we may take Professor L. P. Jacks' assertion that "religion may be defined as education raised to its highest power," [3] not only as the summary expression of his own ripest thought, but as indicating the attitude of many

[1] *Life and Struggles*, p. 392 f.

[2] As, indeed, was all Western education. As Prof. Adamson says: "Modern public education has a twofold origin which dates back to the early days of Christianity. Its various institutions, schools, colleges, universities, and the framework of administration, are the creation of the Christian Church. The Church's desire to master the significance of the Scriptures, and to propagate their teaching, maintained the connexion between Christian education and the system of rhetorical instruction which flourished under the pagan Roman Empire." *Op. cit.* p. 1 *et seq.*

[3] *A Living Universe* (1923), p. 18.

among our foremost philosophers of religion. Professor John Dewey, on the other hand, recently asked whether education itself may not be made a substitute for religion. "While he answers this question in the negative, he reminds us that there are people to-day who in good faith are trying to make it one—people who find in the mysterious power revealed in the developing personality not only a ceaseless subject of curiosity, but a satisfying object of worship." [1] Certainly the social purpose which to-day inspires many adult students to undertake long courses of arduous study [2] is often the only aspect of religion that calls forth their whole-hearted loyalty and devotion, though most of them would not recognise their motive as in any sense religious.

It is not long since a distinction was commonly made between education and instruction. We are progressing beyond the crudity of this conception, however. The idea now achieving pre-eminence among all who are concerned with education is that all teaching, if it is true, must reach the whole personality of the pupil.[3] Moreover, it must regard every individual as set in a society. Education thus comes to be, in almost a biological sense, development. An accurate derivation of the very term itself (as contrasted with the one which used to be current) indicates that the business of the educator is to *nourish* the growing personality, so that even in technical and vocational training a new humanism is growing up. It is seen that to make a man a craftsman without creating in him the true spirit of craftsmanship and the desire to serve the community by his craft is essentially to fail. In primary education the notion

[1] W. Adams Brown, *Imperialistic Religion and the Religion of Democracy* (1923), p. 161.

[2] Cf. Ministry of Reconstruction Committee on Adult Education, *Final Report, 1919* (Cmd. 321), §§ 96, 330.

[3] Prof. Helen Wodehouse reminds us that while the education of clerk and knight in the Middle Ages were both professional, the Renaissance brought with it this new conception: "Italy created or rediscovered the concept of man as a layman, as an individual, and personality became the conscious goal of development." *A Survey of the History of Education* (1924), p. 53.

of merely equipping a boy with that minimum of information necessary to enable him to make his way through life is dying, if not dead. The teacher's task is increasingly understood to be that of awakening in the child or the adolescent an active power of searching after wisdom as well as knowledge, a spirit of enquiry and a habit of thought which will not leave him, but will grow from more to more. There is a new insistence that the aim of a university student should be, not so much the taking of a degree as a professional qualification, as the attainment of certain qualities of mind and character.[1] When thus we come to the crown of the whole process in adult education of the purely cultural type, it becomes almost a truism to say that it is " a spiritual activity." It may have many springs ; the broadening stream may reveal unsuspected eddies and currents. The main thing is to mark " the sea where it goes." Adult education may perhaps be called a spiritual activity even more aptly than the phrase is applied to other stages of education, because in it the conscious demand and effort of the student as contrasted with the part played by the tutor is most fully developed. At the same time all real education is clearly a co-operative process. Teacher and taught must needs work together, and below the level of awareness there will inevitably be that interplay of mental and spiritual forces which betoken life at its highest.

Adult education has grown to be a great force. It is acclaimed to be a spiritual force. The time has arrived when, amidst our propaganda, our organisation, our personal participation in the various forms of adult education, we need to stand aside a little and bethink ourselves upon what business it is that we are really engaged. The present state of chaos in the world, economic, industrial, political, international, religious, or what you will, demands that we should discover some sure way out into a larger life and a steadier progress for humanity. If in adult education we have all that enthusiastic advocates claim for it, we may be

[1] Cf. Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, *Times Educational Supplement*, Feb. 27, 1919.

filled with hope for the future, despite all that seems to threaten our peace of mind at the moment.

Advocates of adult education are not lacking. They set forth their appeal on divers grounds. On every hand there are evidences of growing conviction that as a people we must address ourselves without delay to a task too long neglected. From varying points of view, it is urged that we should complete our national scheme of education by giving due place to this little understood part of it. The fact is repeatedly brought home to us that, for its true development, our life as individuals and as a people demands this form of expression. Undoubtedly there is a heavy cloud of apathy and ignorance about adult education still to be lifted. All classes in the community alike lie under that cloud, but Labour is alert and the Churches show signs of stirring. Voluntary societies for adult education are making progress very surely, if all too slowly. The place of art, music, and drama in the movement is becoming more clearly recognised. Local Education Authorities are accepting, some with a fine readiness, and others with a strange reluctance, their responsibility in the matter. The Universities are setting themselves to an adequate discharge of their duty to adult students unable to undertake a course of study within university walls. Even the caution of the Board of Education has yielded to the claim of adult education, and the Board has now fully associated itself with the enterprise as one of national importance. Both the parents and the teachers of children are realising that education is a many-sided, and ought to be a life-long, activity, and that, since children learn as much outside as inside the school, it behoves adults to equip themselves for their unconscious share in the education of the growing generation. Statesmen of all parties affirm with Viscount Grey [1] that democratic representative government is no likelier than any other form to secure the welfare of men if the democracy itself is not fit to govern, and for the development of this fitness they pin their faith to adult education.

[1] *The Way Out*, edited by the Hon. Oliver Stanley (1923), p. 4.

Quite apart from any special belief in the value of education, there is manifest among men whose outlook might appear to be purely intellectualist or wholly secular a deepening conviction that the world can be set right only by the energising of moral and spiritual forces. Ideal systems are seen to be a mere mockery unless men have sufficient nobility of character to carry them into effect.[1] The problem of commerce and industry is not simply one of efficiency. It is essentially the problem of creating confidence between all who are concerned in production, distribution and exchange, of putting co-operation into the place of competition.[2] The critical question which confronts the world of nations is much more than that of providing sounder mutual guarantees. It is that of achieving mutual understanding, respect and conscious universal inter-dependence. The class and caste wars which are common to all countries will not be terminated by any reversal of the existing order in favour of the present underdog. The decisive issue is whether a real spirit and practice of community can be attained, or not. All these are matters of the spirit no less than of the mind. However much a man may know, his sympathies depend finally upon what he in himself is, and still more upon what he, in fellowship with others, is becoming. We are concerned, then, to know whether this force of adult education, shaping men's minds, creating the spirit of this group and that, is in truth a spiritual force. Are its characteristic values spiritual values? Is it such that

[1] Cf. Bertrand Russell, *The Prospects of Industrial Civilisation* (1923).

[2] Fundamentally the problem is not a mere matter of improving personal and group relationships, *e.g.* as between employer and employed. It is one of working out a system so fully in accordance with the spiritual principles of good work, just apportionment of wealth, and true mutual service, that nothing in the necessary processes of industry and commerce shall hinder the development of personality or impoverish the life of the community; indeed, those processes should in themselves be factors in the increase of human welfare and happiness; they should be positive aids to moral and spiritual growth.

rightly used it will relate us to the inmost truth, beauty, and goodness of the universe ? May we legitimately regard it as a spiritual asset without infringing the rights of our intellectual integrity, or betraying the cause of our practical social betterment ?

These are questions in which we are all of us concerned, and no one of us has a greater stake than another, whatever may be our individual commitments and enthusiasms. The trade unionist will sooner or later find that he must needs answer them if he is effectively to advance his special cause, and the minister of religion will make a similar discovery. The politician and the economist have as much at issue here as the artist, the teacher, or the writer of books. It is, moreover, a matter of intensely practical import.

If adult education is indeed a spiritual force, if it has the potency that has been suggested, are we making the use of it that we might ? How do our manifold efforts stand related to each other ? Recognising the necessity and value of diversities in operations, in what sense can we claim unity in an explicit determination to seek first the Kingdom of spiritual values ?

A halting attempt has been made in these pages to show that this unity must exist by reason of the very nature of human personality, of human society, and of the universe to which these are organic. In order to complete the argument the evidence of history has been added to the contribution of philosophy and educational theory. Only then could we lay a firm foundation for constructive suggestion. It will be our task in the second volume of this book to glance at the actual lines of development in adult education during the present century, to attempt some estimate of what is now being done—more particularly by bodies organised explicitly or implicitly on a religious basis, since they have hitherto been to a great extent omitted from similar enquiries—and to consider the possibility of an integrated movement which gives free play to all its members.

If once we can be honestly assured of such a unity, we shall feel more deeply the obligation of a practical fellowship

in this life of the spirit. Rejoicing in mutual freedom of method we shall find in closer co-operation a great enrichment of our respective resources. There will be less fear of "control" or "contamination," and more sense of a natural comradeship in quest of "more life and fuller." Milton's gravest charge against ecclesiastical intolerance and lack of spiritual vision was that "the hungry sheep look up and are not fed." Such may be the judgment upon the adult education movement if ever it forgets first principles in its preoccupation with sectional policies. On the other hand, the vigorous life which it is manifesting at the present time and its power of rendering unique service, both to individual men and women and to the body politic, are rooted in the things of the spirit. This life and power will grow and fructify only as the concern of adult education with spiritual values remains primary, and becomes steadily more conscious and purposeful.

END OF VOLUME ONE.

BOOKS FOR FURTHER REFERENCE

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